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THE CHURCH AND PEACE

Martin Niemöller — SONS OF GOD

John Nevin Sayre — THE CHURCH AND VOCATIONAL PACIFISM

Lewis Mumford — A MORAL EMERGENCY

Omar N. Bradley — PEACEFUL ACCOMMODATION

Kirby Page — A VISIT TO EUROPE

Erich Fromm — SOCIAL SOURCES OF MAN'S INSECURITY

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS
ON THE CURRENT SCENE

HE NEW *FELLOWSHIP*

With this issue FELLOWSHIP begins its venty-fourth year and, beginning it, makes s second major change in format in that me. The change is a unique one for FEL-OWSHIP and, so far as we have been able discover, for any magazine. Henceforth is periodical will be published twice onthly, in two different forms. Bimonthly will come to you as this issue does, with e editorials, articles, book reviews and her features to which you have become customed. Meanwhile, it will come out so as a semi-monthly four-page Peace In-rmation Edition—a compact and timely ewsmagazine, written, printed and mailed a five-day schedule, bringing you in mpact form the news and comment we elieve you would like to have in these ays of immense issues and growing ten-ons.

The editors of FELLOWSHIP are relatively odest folk, generally without illusions as the earth-shaking proportions of their ork, but there has never been a time hen we have felt as strongly as now the ish that this magazine had a thousand mes its present circulation. There are so w voices of sanity remaining, and in the ce of the monstrous contrivances of death an has wrought, sanity can be stated only pacifist terms.

The pacifist has always defined war as n; today pacifist and nonpacifist are greed that it is also madness. Yet it is nly the pacifist who rejects this madness. he nonpacifist, breathing maledictions on hn Foster Dulles and delivering himself passionate pleas for peace, still resists sperately the notion that he give up the adness of war entirely. War with inter-ntinental missiles is out, of course—but n't we keep limited war, pint-size H-mbs, missiles of moderate range? Just a *ttle* madness, please? Because of course the hers are mad, and how are we to combat em if we yield up our madness entirely?

No man can foresee the future. The madness runs deep and wide, and perhaps it may engulf the world, but there are islands of sanity erupting, too—rebellious, angry, uncertain little islands here and there, in the most unlikely places. It is our job to note the islands, and to build on them, and to tell people about them, and not to despair. A minute part of that job, we hope, will be done better by this new kind of magazine. If you will pardon our saying so, we wish it well!

SANITY

Most of us, constantly bludgeoned by an incessant outpouring of words, tend to accept a public assessment of our attitudes as more valid than our own observations. Consequently, though we find our neighbors and associates going on about their business just about as they did before October, we still accept the assertions of editorialists and politicians that the nation is beside itself with anxiety and fury over this country's failure to put a satellite in the sky before the Soviet Union did.

So far as we can see, most people actually have taken the whole thing quite calmly. Uneasiness exists, but it springs from apprehension about the whole world situation, and shows no sign that it will be assuaged by the news of an American missile bigger than the Soviets'. A group of salesmen, talking about the Vanguard rocket on the evening of the day it fizzled out ignominiously on a Florida beach, quite without thinking referred to "they" and "them"—not "we" and "us"—when they spoke of the people whose concern the rocket was and who would be embarrassed by its failure. There are signs that the natural sanity of ordinary men is quietly splitting them apart from the lunatic preoccupations with death that obsess their leaders.

Some of the leaders are restive, too. C. Wright Mills, brilliant Columbia University sociologist and author of *The Pow-*

er Elite and other books, developed a remarkable almost-but-not-quite pacifist 14-point program for peace which appeared in *The Nation* last month.[1] Lewis Mumford and General Omar Bradley spoke the deadly judgments on the arms race published elsewhere in this issue, and though General Bradley has retreated somewhat precipitately from the bold beachhead thus established, it is still significant that a five-star general should have escaped from Pentagon surveillance long enough to have spoken out so forthrightly.

And the general assembly of the National Council of Churches, having listened to Army chief of staff Gen. Maxwell Taylor describe the nation's $38-billion defense budget as "an indispensable part of the price of peace," promptly heard its newly elected president, FOR member Edwin T. Dahlberg, say that it wasn't so. Dr. Dahlberg, mincing no words, called General Taylor's indispensable part of the price of peace "utter folly and futility," and called for a program of "massive reconciliation throughout the total of mankind."

LOONEY

A real harebrain broke into the eminently well-balanced precincts of television in mid-November, and was dealt with firmly and promptly, as befits such upsetters of the Sacred Schedule.

Richard Fichter, a bearded 35-year old farmer, preacher and pacifist from Springville, Pa., walked unannounced before the TV cameras of $64,000 Challenge one Sunday evening. In the spirit of the program, he wanted to challenge Americans to ask themselves some questions. They were tough questions, the way he had them written out, even harder than the ones for which they put contestants in a sound-proof isolation booth.

Is the goal of matching the Russians a worthy one? Does man find life by imitating man, or by imitating God? Can fear cast out fear? Does man discover the reality of heaven in space ships or by searching within his own soul?

The whole set of questions wouldn't have taken three minutes to ask, as Fichter had them written out, but of course he never got to ask them. He had just long enough to get out a few words before t cops grabbed him and rushed him off the psycho ward at Bellevue, which is wh they do with loonies in New York. Th held him there twelve days before rel tantly turning him loose to start aski questions again.

They have to watch things like this ve carefully on television, because some vie ers are highly impressionable and need be protected. Even the little that Fich got to say evidently reached some of th folks, so that an editorialist in Bingha ton, New York, wrote wistfully, "There no answer to Mr. Fichter's $64-billion ch lenge other than the one he is said to ha in mind—a world turning to religion as only salvation. Can it be proved that su a thought is insane?"[2]

WARNING

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, America's b known theologian and pacifism's favo *bête noire*, is back at the old stand, minding Christians that the world sit tion is very, very complex, and warn them against the seductive illusion that application of some simple moral princi can provide a solution. Thoughtful, c scientious men are caught in a cruel lemma, Dr. Niebuhr maintains, in wh they face the apparent necessity of wag cruel and sinful war as the only means saving the precious democratic values trusted to them.

The warning is, as always, apt. Pacif especially, must guard against the tem tion to embrace sentimentalities as an cape from the hard problems of mak peace through the processes of reconc tion.

Unfortunately, as always, Dr. Nieb seems to minimize the other aspect of dilemma, in which men confront the q tion of whether the defense of anyth they possess—life, family, liberty—just resort to the most atrocious imagin cruelty inflicted on hundreds of million innocents and perpetuated to unnumb generations in the future. With the ad little dose of seasoning in the realiza that even the most sanguine supporte "peace by terror" admits that it is far f a sure defense anyway.

1 Dec. 7, 1957.

2 *Binghamton Sun*, Nov. 19, 1957

Pacifists generally believe that a campaign of what Dr. Dahlberg called "massive reconciliation," based on a genuine sacrificial love, would have a good chance of bringing real peace. If pacifism has a moral standing to which the Niebuhrian dilemmists do not achieve, however, it comes from the pacifist's refusal to adopt the demonic methods of modern war even if he *knew* that his own methods would not "work." For, ultimately, the question of whether man has a moral stature at all depends upon whether he can say that there is a point at which, at whatever cost, he will not do what he knows to be totally and abysmally evil.

POLICE

One of the most persistent of the oversimplifications against which the Niebuhr warning has relevance is the illusion that the problem of war can somehow be handled by the development of a world police force. This had quieted down for a while after Korea's tragic illumination of what "police action" really means in the present context, but the "success" of the natty UN force in patrolling Suez has revived the hopes of people who see "controlled force" as the path to peace.

Our friends the United World Federalists last month sent out a set of "Twenty Questions on the United Nations," with a key to indicate the score of the person answering. You were right if you indicated a belief that (a) the UN should be able to halt aggression on the part of major powers as well as smaller nations, (b) a system of universal and "enforceable" disarmament would help achieve peace, (c) the UN should have "a force similar to the United Nations Emergency Force" at its continuous disposal, and (d) "world law to be effective must be enforceable by means of UN police and UN courts."

Obviously there is nothing wrong with the sentiment behind these answers. It *would* be nice if the United Nations could "halt aggression" on the part of the major powers. It would be nice if the UN could even *define* aggression to the satisfaction of the nations who have to be satisfied if the definition is to mean anything.

The trouble is that these things are irrelevant. There are two major powers. Each is a bloc of nations, dominated by a single colossus of military and economic strength. Either of them could put the United Nations out of business as a world organization with a word. Each of them has hostile designs on the other.

If either of those two powers were to disarm unilaterally, it could bring into play through the peaceful functions of the UN a dynamic that might well force the other to disarm as well, but it obviously could not equip the UN to resist the other power militarily.

If both powers were to disarm, the problem of halting aggression on the part of either of them becomes academic.

If neither disarms, efforts to stop either by military force means the identification of the UN with one side in the struggle, which is what happened in Korea, and which means, of course, war.

The UN sent to Suez 5,977 troops collected from a coterie of small nations. They looked nice, and the world was glad to see them, because they represented an accomplishment in the avoidance of war. But they did not stop or prevent conflict, except perhaps on a minor, municipal police level. Either the Egyptians or the Israelis could have run over them, to say nothing of the British and French. The UN troops were a symbol of something that had happened, and they carried with them a moral force that had nothing to do with their rifles.

Open conflict in the Middle East was ended because the United States put pressure on Britain, France and Israel, and because the Soviet Union did not feel that its stakes warranted military action.

World opinion against war must build up to the point where the great powers will be obliged not only to disarm but to deal with the war-breeding problems of poverty, inequality and freedom. Diverting attention to devices and symbols will not help, but will slow up the process of getting that world opinion.

POLICE IN LITTLE ROCK

We have been taxed by a reader with having evaded the issue created for pacifists by the use of federal troops in Little Rock. He is right that it is an issue and that we did not deal with it in FELLOWSHIP, though

the omission was accidental. This seems like an appropriate spot to make some observations.

To begin by stating the obvious, all pacifists, and millions of nonpacifists, of course wish that the integration of Central High School had been accomplished without the intervention of troops, either state or federal. It is worth noting, too, that many observers believe that it was the intervention of the National Guard, called in by Governor Faubus, that provoked the violence, and that without that factor integration would have proceeded with relative smoothness and peace.

Second, let's admit that, for most pacifists, regret over the use of troops was greatly tempered by relief that the nine Negro youngsters would be protected from the violence of the mob. We would be either less or more than human if we did not feel thus.

Third, so far as we see it, the use of troops, under the circumstances, was a quite legitimate exercise of police power by the federal government. (Note that we do not say "good" or "right," but "legitimate.") Enforcement of a federal law and a decision of a federal court were at stake. Arkansas, which long ago accepted the sovereignty of the federal government, had abdicated its function as the primary enforcer of law. The Federal government, having no police force except the Army, quite naturally used the Army to enforce its laws. Barring possible minor excesses we do not know about, the troops appear to have functioned as police—that is, they operated to restrain individuals who were directly violating the law and to protect individuals who were in danger from law violators. Within the context of the society in which we live, it seems difficult to take serious exception to this—under the circumstances that existed *at that moment.*

This is only half the story, however. For it is also true that, however legitimate the use of troops and however intolerable it would have been to yield to the mob, the federal intervention seems probably to have hardened resistance to integration through much of the South. Moreover, as a method of dealing with the basic problem, military force here as elsewhere is a dead end. Troops cannot be stationed at every school throughout the South, and they were, their presence would deep the conflict immeasurably. Until somethi creative and reconciling enters the pictu the use of force will be at best a stopga

Something creative could have ente the Little Rock situation before the fede troops came, but it did not. A forthrig statement by the President might well ha deterred Governor Faubus and enco aged Little Rock officials. The four cler men who walked with the nine ch dren up to the doors of the high sch that first day might have stayed there, c fronting the Guardsmen with their sile protest. They might have been joined a score of other clergymen, standing th in shifts as the *satyagrahi* of India o stood confronting the police. A thousa Little Rock white Christians might ha come to interpose their bodies between t mob and the children. And, of course, h the President been a Gandhi, he mig have gone himself to Little Rock to ta the children by the hand and ask t Guardsmen if they would prevent h from entering the school. The possibilit of creative, nonviolent ways of dealing wi conflict are limited only by man's imagi tion. In Montgomery something happen in Little Rock it did not.

It must be added that no one who w not in Little Rock can write the foregoi except in deep humility. It is not s by way of rebuke or criticism; few of would have been more alert or more c ative than were the startled citizens of th city when the storm descended on the These words are written to say that pa fists should be neither irresponsibly criti of the decision to use troops, nor despa ingly resigned to the belief that there co not have been an effective nonviolent alt native.

KIRBY PAGE

As we go to press, word has come of sudden death of Kirby Page, whose arti "A Visit to Europe," appears in this iss It is sad news indeed for the peace mo ment. A fuller comment will appear in next bimonthly edition of FELLOWSHIP

THE CHURCH AND PEACE

BY HENRY J. CADBURY

s THE CHURCH doing its part in creating a warless world?

There are some questions that are asked ot primarily to be answered, or whose an- ers are so obvious that they need hardly e stated. This is such a "rhetorical" ques- on, and its answer is an emphatic "No." ut other questions follow, that deserve to discussed. What *should* be the Church's rt? Why is the Church *not* doing it? hat is the responsibility of a group like e Fellowship of Reconciliation which for er forty years has been concerned pri- arily with the impact of religion on the oblem of international peace?

The implication of the original question probably correct. It implies that if we get warless world several factors will have d their part and made their contribu- on. The prevention of war is more com- icated than idealists and panaceists have metimes thought, and still more compli- ted than hard-headed realists and so- lled practical politicians have believed. onomic, political and strategic factors ter into the problem, but more impor- nt than objective phenomena are the hu- an ways of conceiving them and reacting them. War is simply a method of deal- g with situations, not an inevitable meth- , not even a rational or relevant method. is conventional, traditional and time- nored, but, nowadays at least, rarely pro- ctive of economic, political or practical od. Those who consent to war do so on e very doubtful grounds of its being the ser of two or more evils, or that they see alternative. The truth is that they have t for any good reason wanted it and their sundry remarks conceal actually a confession of failure and bankruptcy.

The avoidance of war is consequently not a contest against mechanical and external forces but a psychological problem. Even in one country it involves a great multiplicity of mental factors. Internationally the multiplicity is perhaps greater, or at least more difficult to analyze and resolve. There is, however, memorable and unimpeachable truth in the oft-quoted words of the UNESCO charter: "Wars are made in the minds of men, and in the minds of men the foundations of peace must be established." It was George A. Coe who in 1929 defined our problem as "shifting the national mind-set."

For this problem the Church seems a peculiarly important instrument. Its role may be defined as changing minds, which is the meaning in Greek of "repentance." Until modern times the Church was the principal agency for such a purpose, though education and the press and now other mass media are in the same field. I have often said that religion and the problem of war fit each other as the hand fits the glove. This is partly because I view war as a moral problem, and moral considerations are not primary in the other instrumentalities that influence people.

Theoretically, therefore, the Church has a peculiarly congenial role in the crusade against war. This has been occasionally realized in the past and is partially realized today. At least there have always been some Christian individuals or groups that have recognized the contrariety of war and Christianity. The Christian spokesmen of

the first two or three centuries, as well as minority groups and sects of the Middle Ages and of the Reformation, and of modern times too, have taken their stand against war. Here also "God has not left himself without witness." One could not ask for more ringing declarations of the non-Christian character of war than have been issued by denominational and national church bodies in recent years.

In contrast to these statements the churches as a whole have very little effective implementing of this anti-war profession to their credit. One naturally asks why.

Collective condemnation of sin is rarely very effective. "All we like sheep have gone astray" is a true sentiment often sung more beautifully than penitentially in our churches. War is a sin easily shifted to the responsibility of others. The enemy, who, we are led to believe, really wanted the war, is blamed for the war, and certainly started it in the sense that their hostile acts preceded ours by a certain interval of time that could have been detected by a team of referees on the scrimmage line with the help of a stop-watch.

Drifting With the State

In America the Church is slow to assert its real independence of the state when it comes to belligerency. Why this is true is due to several causes. Its members are citizens as well as churchmen. They show the conditioning which is necessary for persuading the citizenry of a democracy to accede to war. The liberal churches have only partly learned the implication of the social gospel, and rarely and belatedly have become the courageous spokesmen of an unpopular cause. The evangelical or fundamentalist element sticks resolutely to its conception of its task as the redemption of individuals, and defines sin in more conventional terms than participation in wholesale homicide. They allow government approval or conscription to decide such matters, perhaps unconsciously willing to let the government have its way here, in repayment for government protection of the freedom of religion vouchsafed them by the First Amendment. James Russell Lowell wrote in the time of the Mexican War:

> Ez fer war, I call it murder,
> There you hev it plain an' flat
> I don't want to go no furder
> Than my Testyment fer that:
>
> Ef you take a sword an' dror it,
> An' go stick a feller thru,
> Guv'ment aint to answer for it,
> God'll send the bill to you.

Not even the explicit and official refusal t the Nürnberg tribunals to acquit indivi uals of guilt because they were under go ernment orders has penetrated to the Ame ican Selective Service in its treatment Conscientious Objectors or to the typic American Christian. Like many in the r cent British military venture in Egypt ou churchmen high and low generally refrai from criticizing government policy.

In fact, the explanation of the Church impotence to do its part about war rests i the Church's limited acceptance of its ow revolutionary role. It recognizes its enemi in the world, the flesh and the devil, bu not in human institutions and tradition In spite of the claims made for Christianit as the basis of moral reforms in history, claim as old as Brace's *Gesta Christi*, study of the anti-slavery movement an other past social changes indicates that a tually Christian forces have remained onl too long on the wrong side of great mora issues. Christianity has never had the co scious aim of reforming the institutions society but at most of creating certai amenities within the existing framewor Far more serious than the Communist in dictment that religion is the opiate of th people is the way in which religion ha dulled the conscience of those who explo the people, or who tolerate impersona forces which deny the best opportunitie for universal welfare. As John Woolma quaintly puts it: "Deep rooted custom though wrong are not easily altered, bu it is the duty of all to be firm in that whic they know to be right for them."

Perhaps more than other historic soci evils, war is more difficult for the Chri tian conscience to face clearly. War ha always been defensible by selected Biblic texts, though it is doubtful whether th use of the passages still cited, like th cleansing of the Temple or the words "n peace but a sword," are really decisive i the attitude of Christian soldiers. Wars ar interpreted now so often in moral term that the Christian falls in easily with just fying the cause for which a war is wage by his own country, and condemning th practices of the other country. Even these virtues and vices are not exaggerate by him, he is not excused. He confuses th ends with the means, and probably ofte he confuses moral evil with physical evi The very prominence of moral compar son between belligerents blunts the deep

oral problem. It has been lately said, "As means of doing evil and of feeling good hile doing it, war is without a parallel."* the complicated picture, clear analysis especially necessary. The church needs recover the clarity with which Jesus ten refused to take sides on issues—even early moral issues—in the way that others resented them. His teaching is not on reventing or restraining the evildoer or the wrongfulness of aggression. It does y something on how to meet hostility in hers, and on acting with love and gen- osity oneself.

Fortunately we have passed the time hen war in itself was raised as useful and hon- rable. That time is no fur- ier ago than our youth, Dr. Fosdick has remind- l us in his quotations om the moralists and so- ologists of the last cen- ry,† and the change has en striking. Criticisms of armongering and the pro- ssions of peaceful inten- on are equally constant nd perhaps equally sin- re on both sides of the on Curtain. They are epped up perhaps by the creased destructiveness of uclear weapons. That on ther side they coincide with what I re- rd as the truly Christian motive is doubt- l. Even Albert Schweitzer's recent appeal ainst the testing of hydrogen bombs was nited to biological or humanitarian rea- ns. Let us hope that all considerations ll work together to eliminate war, self- terest and fear included; but if the world ils to see that it is a form of sin to be rsonally, as soldier or civilian, guilty in e evil done, as well as unfortunate in e evil suffered, an opportunity for eth- l education and for spiritual achieve- nt will be missed, and the Christian rces will have fallen short of their mis- on, even with a warless world.

Wishes and Deeds

Long ago Thomas à Kempis observed, ll men desire peace, but not all men ll do that which belongeth to peace." hat is the crux of the matter, for peace in some ways more costly than war— stly not so much in dollars spent or blood shed as in the hard and sacrificial task of changing the whole pattern of our lives and thought.

Success versus Religion

The recent history of the American churches does not make one optimistic about their easy conversion. Their very success in wealth and numbers and popular support almost disqualifies them from playing their role. They show little evidence of willingness to be pioneers in radical positions. They scarcely realize that they are in an artificial, pressurized situation, though their supporters and government authority would soon make it evident if they undertook the task of abstaining from all that maintains our American policy wherever it tends to sanction war. Even when they make statements against war they are often far ahead of those they speak for, and do not really call for personal renunciation. Indeed, the Church as a spokesman or a lobbyist has forgotten its function as cultivator of personal and individual conscience and has looked upon itself as representative or even educator of one aspect of the life of multitudes. The church should be judged not by the pressure it can exert but by the individual unrest it can create and the individual saints it can inspire. This is not done by organization, especially by big organizations, as William James recognized long ago.

Bernard Shaw, in his *Saint Joan,* said the Catholic Church is not catholic enough. The trouble with the Christian Church is that it is not Christian enough. I recall two characteristic statements from non-Christian sources. The judge who condemned a French conscientious objector described him as "incorrigibly religious," and an observer hearing of the work of a small Christian organization said, "I did not know that there was anybody as Christian as that."

The Pacifists' Fault

It is only fair to ask a group of Christian pacifists like ourselves with a long-standing addiction to the very matter under discussion a more embarrassing

* J. C. Flugel, *Man, Morals and Society.*
† Harry Emerson Fosdick, *The Living of These ys,* pp. 292 f.

question. Have we, as a group or as individuals, done our part in helping the Church do its part towards bringing about a warless world? We have dissociated ourselves from Church sanction of war and have criticized Christians for not doing more than they have done. They seem to us to have gone as far as Job's friends in speaking unrighteously for God. Yet I sometime think we have estranged Christians from pacifism instead of attracting them to it. Between the world wars I thought that American Christianity was becoming largely pacifist. I realized that much of this was superficial, and, since then, horror at fascism in the Spanish civil war, and at anti-Semitism under Hitler, and the alternating attraction and repulsion to communism, have lost us apparent allies among sincere Christians. There are, I believe, many Christian leaders who have made up their minds that pacifism is one of the last positions they will accept. Like Anthony Eden they would rather be suspected of any heresy rather than that.

We have also in our own actions given no clear and unanimous voice as to what is the Christian's part. I recall a pacifist discussion forty years ago as to whether it was more important to work first for arbitration and then for disarmament or vice-versa. We have mixed short-term objectives with the fundamental need for changing the whole attitude to war. I will not deny that our attempts to deal with conscription, and with some specific military policies and accompaniments have helped some persons come a long way in our direction. But the negativity, the irrelevance and the apparent practical futility of personal renunciation of war have put some of our acquaintances off. As the Communist press complained when the Quakers were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947, "Why was it not given to a Churchill, a Stalin, or a Roosevelt, men who were willing to fight for peace?"

There are, of course, two major schools of thought about the prevention of war. One relies upon force and the threat of force. This is not our group and I need not discuss it, except to acknowledge its prevalence and its sincere confidence in its own logic.

Our Three Ways

Our group is smaller, but even it is divided three ways in its philosophy. Some of us work primarily at what we regard as the possible "next steps" to peace. These include world organization even including military sanctions, disarmament, even if only partial and by agreement, and lessening of restrictions on internatio trade and travel and cultural excha Pacifists of this stamp have the great vantage of finding much sympathy in n pacifist groups and have the sense of w ing directly and in practical ways to vent war. They must expect to find th selves often associated with strange fellows.

A second part of the Christian pe movement lays its emphasis upon find opportunities to bridge areas of misun standing and friction, largely by acti that exemplify aggressive love. They the impulse to live out in a striking the challenge to the spirit of war.

The third part may share in the inte of the other two, but their chief con is the direct witness to the philosophy war-refusal. They are opposed to par pation in war, conscription, military tr ing, civil defense and payment of taxes. They admit the difficulty of a sistent and pure and logically defens justification of their position. They un stand why it does not at present seem other pacifists, even those who perso would refuse combatant service, a feasible or appealing undertaking. T admit that it is not motivated so much the desire to prevent their own countr another from engaging in war as b feeling of simple obedience to the dem of conscience. Here they find the dec categorical imperative. Whether others say no, because of their example, they not tell. It is enough for them to take stand here.

Our Common Task

Between these groups there is somet misunderstanding and almost jealousy. second and third are readily combined they have indeed much in common. T of us who would be classified in rather than in the first group need to our position much re-examination. and patronizing words may be said but the people that say them have no approval of our position or intentio follow us. Few church people seem for our message except in so far as i be conveniently fitted into the usual tern of occasional and regretful wa ceptance. They are right in thinkin are not primarily concerned with im ate ways and means, though we can s ly be indifferent to them. Perhaps w not sufficiently impressed with the ur of each successive emergency as they come along over the years and as the

it one hangs over us today. Physically peaking, the danger that threatens is omic war, an atomic war that could be ntirely unintentional so far as statesmen e concerned, or even accidental. Morally peaking, the danger that threatens is that e and other well-meaning persons will l degrade ourselves to consent to unwor- y actions. After all, only a dozen years go the very great majority of Christians every nation were consenting to their untry's all-out war effort. Is it more im- rtant to labor at the alternatives or de- rrents than at this problem?

The issue is not *either-or* but *both-and*. erhaps the religious long-term approach n be combined with the on-religious short-term proach. But as Chris- ans, we have a responsi- lity to see that the for- er is not forgotten. It is e bedrock of the teach- g and the motivation of ligion. In view of the gency of the present situ- ion, many will be in- ined to give priority to guments and strategies at will, hopefully, make e world rationally peace- l while it is slowly learn- g to be morally peaceful. ven these must recognize e wider or longer task of iving an example—by eds and life more than by words and gument—of the Christian alternative to ar.

No Cheap Way Out

This will not prevent participation in orking directly for a warless world, ough even the practical expedients of otest against this policy and voting for at policy leave us also hovering "from ink to brink" or "peering over the rim hell." An individual may work along ther line. In 1916 an editorial in the ondon *Times* said a man can save the orld. As we look back we find no such an, but we may well debate whether oodrow Wilson or Gandhi came the arer to it. More likely the world will saved by a group, even a small group. hat group must exemplify a much more an ordinary kind of Christianity, a kind at earns recognition which no cheaper nd deserves. As a friend said to me in 1943, "I find it impossible to be a Christian in times like these. It is necessary to have been a Christian." What we need to recognize for ourselves and make contagious in the church is this kind of Christian witness. For pacifism is not an excrescence of Christianity but a vital test of its degree of Christian-ness.

Much that I have tried to say is so well expressed by Professor Herbert Butterfield that in conclusion I quote at some length from his *Christianity, Diplomacy and War*. After speaking of the remarkable change achieved by a small group of Communists in thirty years after 1917, he continues:

> Those people who are driven to pessimism and paralysis by the idea that nothing can be effected on this earth save by numbers and power, may take comfort, therefore, from this exhilarating example [of the Communists]. . . . Given the required intensity and intentness, a comparatively few Christians could alter the course of history as powerfully as the Communists have done. . . .
>
> The profoundest effects on our civilization have been produced by people who were not thinking of affecting the course of human affairs at the mundane level; they have come as the unanticipated by-products of lives that had really been intent on spiritual things. The highest achievement is not that which takes the world by storm after the manner of modern communism; but that which, quietly penetrating free minds, acts as the leaven which leavens the whole lump. . . .
>
> There is something so impressive in the power which gentleness can have in the long run, that passive suffering and the willingness to be a martyr seem ultimately to move the world more than the resolution which meets force with force. And in the crisis, if renewed war breeds more wars, and civilization disappears in a thousand local conflicts, a state of misery could conceivably be reached in which the protest and the voluntary suffering of the pacifist might be the only lantern for the rediscovery of even the things we call human values; provided the pacifism were consistent in its simplicity of mind—not the sort which can accompany over-vigorous action in the economic struggle for existence—not the sort which tries to dominate society by the formation of pressure groups.

SONS OF GOD

BY MARTIN NIEMOLLER

"Now before faith came, we were confined under the law, kept under restraint until faith should be revealed. So that the law was our custodian until Christ came, that we might be justified by faith. But now that faith has come, we are no longer under a custodian; for in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith."

Galatians III 23-26

NOW, FOR THIS new year we have been given a very serious text and many of us will know it—it is Jesus saying "Why do you call me 'Lord, Lord,' and do not do what I tell you?" Here our Christianity is challenged. We call Him Jesus Christ our Lord; but is that more than a bare statement, more than an empty claim? When we call ourselves Christians we say that we belong to Him, that He, Jesus, is our Lord. What about the obedience, however, that we owe to this Lord? The question is justified; indeed it is especially today—urgently necessary that we should hear it and take it seriously. It has become the fashion to proclaim the sovereignty of Jesus Christ and to call upon His Name. Today bargains are made with Christianity, very substantial bargains, which yield power and money. Last Christmas, a man who professes to speak as a representative of Christ, declared that the United Nations has the right to forestall any military aggression of any state—in other words to conduct a preventive war; at the same time, he explained, "a Christian cannot appeal to his *own* conscience in resisting the service and the duties that are established by law"—and this assertion referred exclusively to war service! Here the authority of Christ is used in contravention of the truth. Here His name is misused: "Why do you call me 'Lord, Lord,' and do not do what I tell you?" He says, and we all should know it, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth! Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God"—but that is not proclaimed by thirty transmitters throughout the world; for you cannot bargain with it and anyone who
to quote it will be labeled a dreamer
enthusiast by Church Dignitaries, of w
unfortunately we have plenty in the C
tian world too. One may say "Lord, L
to the Man of Nazareth, but one may
do as He says if it goes against politic
business interests, for this Lord is
not worth more than the thirty piec
silver. And so we go back to the La
mobilize its authority against this Lord
go to war.

"An eye for an eye, a tooth for a to
We may, we should, indeed we must de
ourselves if our life is threatened! Th
of self-preservation is the first comm
ment—and now all other commandi
will be understood and limited from
standpoint. "Thou shalt not kill"—a
ing that the other fellow does not wa
kill you. "Thou shalt not commit adul
—so long as the other was not unfa
to you. "Thou shalt not steal" if he
not tamper with your property. "
shalt not bear false witness"—if he
not slander you. Otherwise, to be sur
all right. "Defraud him who defrauds
"take what you need and what i
nied you," "slander your slanderer,"
the murderer before he can kill
"reward evil with evil, and do it at
in time, and thoroughly"—that is n
ggeration, is it? That is actually th
we proceed in our so-called Chr
world.

What Jesus says to this is unm
able: the law has not been given t
tect you from the other fellow, but t
tect him from you!—to give him an
serve for him his minimum rights so
in spite of you, he can live near you.
the law God holds forth his shield t
tect your fellow-man; he does not
you a weapon against him. Therefore
does not temper the command as
learned men of His day did, to acc
date the craving for revenge and se
ervation. He came "not to destro
to fulfil." He desires that we tak

usly and honor God's command as God's ommand; and that we regard our fellow en, the good and the bad, the righteous nd the unrighteous, as God's creatures, tanding under His protection. Because God is God, because our fellow man is God's creature, therefore thou shalt not—herefore I may not—kill him, but must guard his life; not commit adultery, but be oyal to him: not steal, but help him to rotect his goods; not bear false witness, ut speak well of him and see the best in im. God's command, as the Law of the Old Testament, is not contrary to the Gospel of Jesus. It does not justify our self-ove, our desire for self-preservation, our ust for revenge: it limits them and points eyond itself to the fulfilment of the holy nd merciful will of God. "You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect," for "Love is the fulfilment of the aw."

Calling Jesus "Lord, Lord" is incompatible with the practical recognition of another, different authority. The Lord Jesus Christ will tolerate no appeal to the natural law of the struggle for existence, or the law of reason that says to us that charity begins at home. This Lord binds us to His Word, and this Word gives us no other direction than God's command! Not self-love, not self-preservation, but love to God, and love to our neighbor.

"On these two commandments depend all the law and the prophets." The Law does not separate us from Jesus, it leads us to Him. That is what Paul means by taskmaster, by teacher. Here we learn the basic ABC of the Christian faith.

Thou shalt love! That is asking the impossible; love cannot be imposed or decreed. Has this Jesus Christ the right to ask us this reproachful question: "Why do you call me "Lord, Lord," and do not do what I tell you?" Self-love, the urge for self-preservation, the lust for revenge—how can we free ourselves of these, how can we live without them in a hostile world: and that is, surely, the reality that surrounds us! Does not this Lord and Master (though we must admit He is right) demand the impossible of us? Are we able to do more than say "Lord, Lord"? Can we do the things that He tells us?

Dear friends! Four times the apostle speaks, in our text, of "faith." The law of God should take us into its protecting care until faith is born. The law should educate us up to Christ, so that Faith can do its work in us. With the coming of Faith the educational task of the Law is ended; for with Faith are we all (says the Apostle) children of God, sons of God, as it were, God's full-grown sons! It cannot well be more emphatically said that Faith is above the Law, that Faith is the work of Christ in us, that Christ, as is said in the Epistle to the Romans, is the end of the Law, its fulfilment and completion. Jesus is more than a "teacher come from God," Jesus is the Love of God itself, freely bestowed, which flows out to seek us and to convince us that the love of God is ours; that it does better for us than we with all our self-love can do.

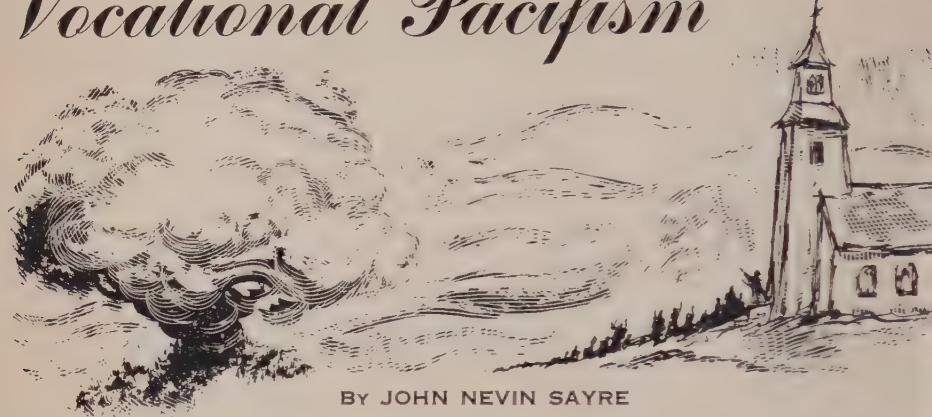
For Jesus' sake, for the sake of his service and sacrifice to be sure of this, to depend on Him and abandon all our cares and fears and instead first and last to ask "Lord, what will you have me do?" —That is Faith. This Faith is the work and the gift of the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and of His spirit; with such a faith we acknowledge Jesus in truth to be our Lord, for "no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Spirit" and in this Faith we love God and our brother, and not ourselves, for "the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit."

As believers we no longer spell by the ABC or count by the multiplication table of the Ten Commandments. We do not forget them, we do not unlearn them; but as responsible sons—as those whom Christ calls His brothers without ceasing to be our Lord, we know the holy and gracious will of the Father better than we could learn it from any commandment. We know the Father's heart; we know that no one and nothing can separate us, that therefore also no one and nothing dare separate us from His love that is in Christ Jesus our Lord! So it is, dear people, that this love of God for us awakens and continually renews our Faith; so it is that this Faith becomes effective and active as Love.

If we hear the word of Jesus: "Why do you call me 'Lord, Lord,' and do not do what I tell you?" and if we take note that this Lord has the right to question us reproachfully and warningly—then no excuses will avail, then we cannot justify ourselves before Him. We can only plead and pray, "Lord, I believe, help Thou mine unbelief," and therefore let us begin this New Year of our Lord with the heartfelt prayer: Lord, strengthen our Faith, so that we may not only say "Lord, Lord"; but do the things that you tell us! Amen.

Translated by Kathleen Sayre

The Church and Vocational Pacifism



BY JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

THE ECUMENICAL CONFERENCES of Oxford, Amsterdam and Evanston showed that the encounter between pacifism and non-pacifism has divided the mind of the Church on Christian conduct as to war, the most burning social issue of our time. The compromise arrived at is essentially the same as the long-held position of the Roman Catholic Church that a dualism may be allowed which permits Christians to choose between (1) a secular life in the world and (2) some special vocation, as poverty, chastity, celibacy, monasticism, the priesthood, etc., including very often exemption from military service. The *secular* and the *"religious"* are both legitimate groups within the one Church which gives its blessing to both.

So in a roughly similar way Protestant Christendom since Oxford has said that pacifism is a Christian vocation within the Church for those members who feel called to embrace it. At the same time it is made clear that pacifism is not the vocation of the Church *qua* Church. In various circumstances the Church is called to support the state in waging particular wars. The tendency since Amsterdam has been to suppose that this compromise closed the debate between pacifism and non-pacifism as far as the Church was concerned. Each Church member is free to make his own choice according to the liberty of the Christian man. Christian congregations and the Church Councils can move on to other business.

But the rapid development of warfare has interposed a disturbing question. Dr. Martin Niemöller, after the explosion of the first H-bomb, said of the quest for peace, that while it was formerly "regar as a matter to be dealt with as a side is a hobby horse of peculiar groups," to "it is no longer one problem among m but the ultimate problem—if it is solved, that is, if we attempt to settle question of coexistence with non-peace warlike means, no further questions no further answers will be of any there won't be anyone left to ask o answer."

The totalitarian and world-mena character of peacetime militarism, with tional conscription, armament expendit and bomb tests with worldwide radioac fallout, poses a further challenge to Oxford-Amsterdam-Evanston formula. the Church wishes to maintain her posi as the Body of Christ on earth, growin ward a universal fellowship of belie the formula of pacifism only for those are called to it leaves the Church on a spot which will rapidly get hotter. By i ing room for vocational pacifists in ranks, the Church does not thereby es the frontal attack of "peace-loving" military-minded governments on her sionary enterprise, her ecumenical m ment, and her theology.

For example, the threat of Britain t plode an H-bomb in the Pacific aro the Japanese people, their government the Japanese churches to make strong tests to the British government, chu and people. It would have been ridicu for the British churches to reply, "W we have vocational pacifists in our ch es and you have the same in yours. them see to it." Happily, the Bisho Chichester was able to lead the Bi

ouncil of Churches to vote a resolution be sent to the Governments of Britain, ussia and the United States, urging each overnment to desist from A- and H-bomb sts. Unhappily, this motion was opposed the Archbishop of Canterbury and a rge number of delegates. The vote on the otion stood 39 for and 32 against, with abstentions. Obviously, with such a di- ded mind, the Church had little moral ower with the British Government, and ie H-Bomb was exploded near Christmas land. Probably the Government would ave gone ahead anyway, but the incident ows up the weakness of the Church as a efense against militarism so long as she not united in a complete commitment gainst the method of war and the arma- ent preparedness which is an essential art of the method.

The World Council of Churches, in the lessage which its Central Committee is- ued at New Haven on August 5, 1957, did etter. There, by the unanimous vote of o members of the Committee, with only wo abstentions, this representative body alled on the United States, Britain and he Soviet Union to halt the testing of uclear weapons. With regard to atomic nd bacteriological weapons and oblitera- ion bombing, the Message said that their se "inevitably involves spiritual degrada- ion for any nation that uses them" and t urged that, as a first step in disarma- ent, "governments conducting tests should orego them at least for a trial period, ither together or individually, in the hope hat others will do the same, a new confi- ence be born and foundations be laid for eliable agreements."

The Christian Road to War

The great missionary hope of the Church eems destined for eclipse unless the Church f today repudiates war fully and com- letely in word and deed. For example, what is the non-Christian world in Asia, ndia, Africa and elsewhere, so potently noved by the explosive force of national- sm, to make of a Church which issues a niversal call to men to follow the Prince f Peace and then supports particular wars which kill and decimate great sections of he human family? With the rapid growth f literacy—not to mention Communist ropaganda—the Church's war record, rom Constantine to the present, is no onger half-hidden. The record cannot be efuddled any more by a differentiation etween just wars and unjust wars or by theory which divides Christ's rule into one ethic for the Church and another ethic for the State. Look at the record:

First, Christians killed pagans to maintain the *Pax Romana;* next Christians killed infidels to rescue the Savior's tomb, and later to defend Europe against the Moslems; then Christians killed Christians to wipe out heresy and to settle the issue of coexistence between Roman Catholics and Protestants; then Christians killed Christians to settle the rival claims of national states; then in the two world wars of our generation Christians brought in non-Christians to help in killing brother Christians. Today, in the titanic contest of power between Communist and non-Communist blocs of nations where both sides poison the global atmosphere with deadly and disease-producing radiation, the churches on both sides of the Iron Curtain hesitate to move with their whole weight in calling upon their members to repudiate this inhumanity and the warfare which produces it. When things come to the point of conscientious objection, the Church halts between opposite opinions. She does not know her true vocation.

But if we look at the Church before Constantine, we see a different picture. For a good 250 years in the Roman Empire the Church saw that her vocation included a strict following of the pacifist line. To St. Paul the Church was the body of Christ, and this gave her a special vocation from the Lord.

Although St. Paul also allowed a special vocation to the State as a minister of God to keep order in society, the rule was to obey God rather than men. As the Church grew in numbers and influence, the struggle became acute as to who should control the Body—Christ or Caesar?

A study of the pacifist attitude of the Church in the two and a half centuries preceding Constantine will bring out the following salient points:

First, the Church, although it was a mixed aggregation of saints and sinners, went in for the business of reconciliation and love to Jew and Gentile, to the unfortunate and oppressed, to slave and freeman, rich and poor, male and female, and to people of all sorts and conditions. The Church brought them into an amazing fraternity in Christ. Lecky and other historians emphasize the charitable work of the Christian fellowship. It is easy to exaggerate, but the resolute attempt to practice the love, compassion and forgiveness set forth in the Sermon on the Mount explains better than anything else the Church's phenomenal early growth.

Second, the Church taught and practiced conscientious objection to the worship of Caesar's image. As a "loyalty oath" and at those points where it was demanded by the authorities, the Church clearly said "No." It cherished the martyrs who took this stand.

Third, the main body of the Church took the line that Christians must not serve in the army although the Canons of Hippolytus in the early second century allowed for police service in the army with the restriction that "a soldier of the civil authority must be taught not to kill men and to refuse to do so if he is commanded." Origen, in his famous reply to Celsus, in 248 A.D., put the Church position in these words: "We no longer take up sword against nation, nor do we learn war any more, having become children of peace, for the sake of Jesus who is our leader." Speaking of the period under review, Dr. Roland H. Bainton of Yale Divinity School says, "All of the outstanding writers of the East and the West repudiated participation in warfare for Christians."

Fourth, the Church persistently opposed the gladiatorial games. The Encyclopaedia Britannica states that, although the Emperor Augustus limited the public spectacles to two a year and forbade a praetor to exhibit more than 120 gladiators, yet the fashionable number for private entertainments was 100 pairs; that the Emperor Claudius was devoted to this pastime and would watch it from morning to night; that Titus ordered a show which lasted 100 days and Trajan celebrated a triumph by exhibiting 5000 pairs of gladiators. The Christians continued to protest against this inhumanity and were often enough thrown to the lions themselves, but in the end they won. Gibbon says that the edict to abolish the games was issued by Honorius, the first Christian emperor, but that it was the generous boldness of Telemachus, a Christian monk, who descended into the arena to separate the gladiators and was overwhelmed under a shower of stones, that touched off the public repentance which thereafter abolished the human sacrifices of the amphitheater.

Fifth, the severest test of the Church's pacifism came in a series of persecutions by Roman emperors, often aided and abetted by the fear and bloodlust of the populace. If the book of Revelation, believed to have been composed during the persecution of Domitian, represented the thinking of the Church, it must be admitted that love of enemies has small part therein. The expressions of hatred and hoped-for vengeance against Rome, rep sented as Babylon, the great harlot, are too evident. On the other hand, Church's resistance never took the form plots to assassinate or do any violence; job of retribution was left strictly to G Nor was the Church deflected from active work of love and compassion, a her faith in prayer; nor was she for into a position of surrender. Length a severity of persecution perhaps wore do pacifist faith and prepared the way fo concordat with Constantine that threw pacifism, but still the record stands t the Church, refusing defense by violer was not crushed by violent power.

The Cross May Mean Martyrdom

Nero tried to make the Christians sca goats for Rome's great fire of 64 Domitian and later emperors undertook liquidate the Church and Christianity subversive to the Empire. One persecut followed another, headed by such fam Caesars as Marcus Aurelius, Decius, Ga ius and Diocletian. The final showdo came under Diocletian, beginning in 3 Writing of his Edict against the Christia H. G. Wells says, "It was enacted that th churches in all provinces of the Emp should be demolished to their foun tions." Punishment of death was orde against all who should presume to h any secret assemblies for the purpose religious worship, magistrates were c manded under the severest penalties burn the Christian books and the wh body of the Christians was excluded fr the protection of the law. Real teeth w put into carrying out the Edict by the of tortures and executions. Gibbon e mates the number of Christian mart who perished in this one persecution over 2000.

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who martyred in the Decian persecution in 2 laid down the Church's line: "Christians not allowed to kill; they must rather su death. . . . Christians must love their e mies, and it is the weapons of the sp they must use against them."

By pacifist methods, the Church wo and it won in a sensate culture of mater ism, militarism and imperialism which many points was not greatly different fr our own. Long after the eschatological h of Christ's speedy Second Coming waned, the Church continued a vocatio pacifist institution in a non-pacifist wo

Returning now to the Church of present time, can she regard the diabol

f atomic war as not challenging her to
ink beyond the Oxford-Amsterdam-Evan-
on dualistic position, to examine afresh
ie theology of her *raison d'être* and let
at, as a compass, determine her course
ather than the changing winds of calcu-
ted risk? Indeed, Oxford, Amsterdam and
vanston all counseled this and recom-
ended the setting up of a theological
ommission for this purpose. After long
elay this was done, and the theological
ommission is deliberating. Unfortunately
moves at a snail's pace in comparison
ith the invention and perfection of jet-
ropelled atomic missiles. Time is of the
ssence if the Church is to be of any use
inspiring the world's people to turn
eir governments from the folly of the
ropaganda war and the armaments race
nd all that they portend. People generally
o not need a complicated theological
reatise; what is required is a compass,
omething with a simple needle which
lways points North—that is, to God.

A statement which, I think, comes near
eeting this requirement was made by
velyn Underhill for the Anglican Pacifist
ellowship nearly twenty years ago. After
aying that the Church "cannot minister
ith one hand the Chalice of Salvation,
hilst with the other she blesses the instru-
ents of death," Miss Underhill continues:

"The Church is in the world to save the world. The whole of human life is her province, because Christianity is not a religion of escape but a religion of incarnation; not standing alongside human life, but working in and through it. So, she is bound to make a choice and declare herself on the great issues of that life, and carry through her choice into action, however great the cost. War means men pressing their claims and demands, or resisting another's claims and demands, to the point of destruction. At best this is atavism, at worst it is devilry. The individual sacrifices for which it calls are sacrifices indeed; but they are not made at the only altar which Christians can acknowledge—the altar of the Divine Love. Therefore the Church cannot acquiesce in war, nor can any communicant who is true to the costly realities of faith take part in it. Christianity stands for absolute values, and the Church falls from grace every time she compromises about them; for she is a supernatural society, consisting of persons who have crossed over from the world's side to God's side and have accepted service under the august standard of the Cross, with all that service of the Cross implies."

The Cross of Jesus is not a double
andard. It points in God's direction for
e Church in the world as it pointed for
e Church's Lord.

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

Henry J. Cadbury is chairman of the American Friends Service Committee, a professor emeritus at Harvard and a member of the Advisory Council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Martin Niemoller is president of the German Evangelical Church of Hesse-Nassau (a Lutheran position roughly equivalent to bishop) and a member of the Versöhnungsbund, the German branch of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. Before entering the ministry, Dr. Niemöller was a World War I U-boat commander. Later he won world renown as a pastor who, from his pulpit, fought Hitler so vociferously that he was imprisoned for eight years.

John Nevin Sayre is an Episcopalian clergyman who has spent most of his life in the service of pacifism. He was an editor of *The World Tomorrow*, predecessor of FELLOWSHIP, Co-Secretary of the FOR, 1924-1935 and 1940-1946, and FOR National Chairman, 1935-1939. Since reaching the age of retirement, he has been active in the International FOR, of which he is now Co-Treasurer.

Lewis Mumford is the author of the well-known trilogy, *The Culture of Cities, The Condition of Man* and *Technics and Civilization*. Among his many other books, the most recent is *The Transformations of Man*.

Omar N. Bradley has a background very different from the above men. He is a five-star general in the United States Army. Gen. Bradley achieved distinction as a military commander in the European battles of World War II. His plea for peace, coming as it does from a man of such a decidedly nonpacifist background, is a virtually unprecedented illustration of the relevance of pacifist thinking for our times.

Kirby Page died suddenly on December 16, 1957. He had been an active pacifist lecturer for many years. He was editor of *The World Tomorrow*, predecessor of FELLOWSHIP, for eight years. An article by him appeared in the very first issue of FELLOWSHIP, back in 1935, and he contributed many others. A memorial article by John Nevin Sayre will appear in the March 1 FELLOWSHIP, along with commemorative remarks by a number of people who knew him.

Erich Fromm is one of the world's germinal thinkers in the field of psychoanalysis. He divides his time between a New York practice and a professorship at the University of Mexico, besides giving lectures at the New School for Social Research and elsewhere. Among his major literary contributions are *The Sane Society* and *Religion and Psychoanalysis*.

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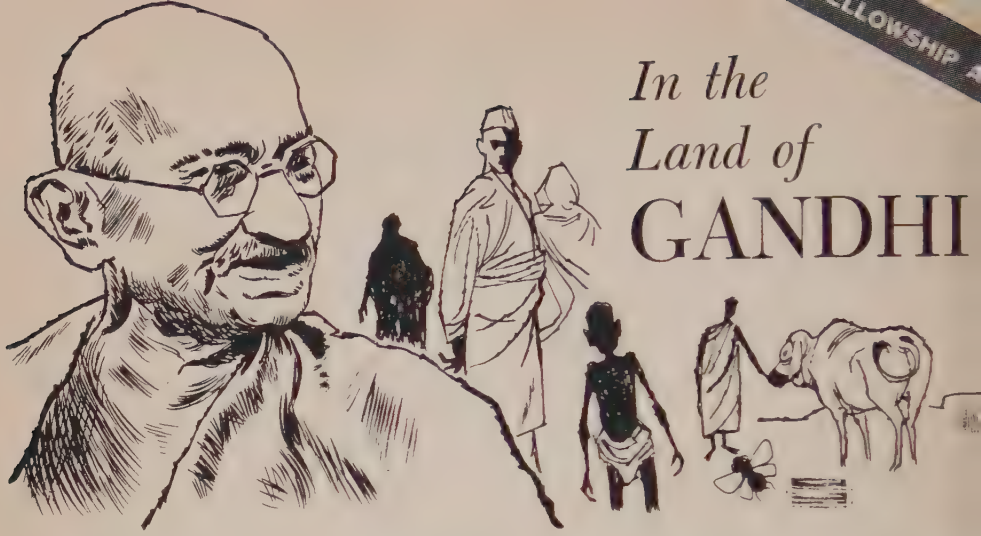

In the Land of GANDHI

EVER SINCE the advent of Gandhi, pacifists the world over have looked towards India as an example of nonviolence in action, yet it was not until 1950 that an Indian Fellowship of Reconciliation was formed. For many years prominent FOR leaders—C. F. Andrews, Muriel Lester, John Haynes Holmes, Richard Gregg and others—had worked with Gandhi, but in the main those who followed Gandhi and his teachings in India were not Christians and the Church showed little sympathy for pacifism. It was only after Gandhi's death in January 1948 that some concrete interest in the FOR began to take shape.

During a tour of India in 1948, Muriel Lester, then Traveling Secretary of the International FOR, spoke at a student conference, urging the formation of an FOR in India. Her message met with such enthusiasm that a tentative pledge was drawn up. On January 1, 1950, John Nevin Sayre, A. J. Muste and Michael Scott conferred with interested Indian pacifists at Nagpur, India. The Conference made slight alterations to the original draft pledge and accepted it as a basis for enrolment of members.

The following November, fifty delegates met in a 6-day All-India Conference at the Christavashram at Manganam, Travancore. Muriel Lester, then on an IFOR-sponsored tour of the Far East, was present. It was during this conference, on the night of November 30, that the Indian FOR officially came into being. C. S. Paul was elected President and V. T. Chandapillai, Organizing Secretary. K. K. Chandy, the founder and director since 1934 of a boy's town for destitute children, was elected General Secretary. He was also Director of the Christavashram (a cooperative comm nity based on Christian worship and fello ship), which became the unofficial FO headquarters and was editor of *Arun dayam*, a monthly magazine which no serves as the organ of the Indian FO With his already overcrowded schedu Chandy took time to tour the country, c ordinating pacifist groups and drummi up interest in the FOR at church and st dent conferences.

The FOR in India is not a large grou Though most of its members are Christia there are some who are Moslem and Hi du. But there are many Moslems a Hindus who, while sympathizing and c operating with the Fellowship, have res vations about the Christ-centeredness of t Indian FOR's Statement of Purpose, whi states that "love as demonstrated in Jes Christ is the only adequate basis of life f personal, social, economic, national a international relationships." They consid this to be unnecesary and irrelevant in country of so many faiths, where Hind

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 30.)

This is **not** how the new 4-page Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship** will usually look. News and comment have been omitted from inside pages in order to bring you the petition being circulated by the FOR and the American Friends Service Committee.

To use it, bend back the staples, remove the insert, and fold the staples down again. Additional copies free on request.

Fellowship

JANUARY 1, 1958

VOL. 24 • NO. 1

SPUTNIK SPURS DRIVE TO END NUCLEAR TESTS

A drive to end testing of nuclear weapons, sparked in the United States by most of the leading peace groups has given added urgency by the Soviet satellites. Launching of the sputniks, peace leaders noted, marked the realization of pushbutton war, and made early disarmament imperative.

A petition to the President, asking for cancellation of scheduled American tests in the Pacific next April, leads off the drive (see next pages).

Why Continue the Tests?

They Do Not Increase Security. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have enough H-bombs to lay waste any enemy, and the means to deliver them. Even those who look to arms for security cannot hope for more of this kind of "safety" than now exists.

They Do Increase Tension. Arms races always heighten tension between nations, and the tests are part of the arms race. Ending the tests would be a move toward lessening tension.

The NEW Fellowship

These four pages are the newest thing about the new *Fellowship*. Twice a month they will bring to subscribers news and comment that it up-to-date and alert. Every other month they will be bound into the larger, 32-page edition of *Fellowship*, but even then they will be only days from the typewriter when they reach you.

This month these four pages are used in a special way, to bring you the petition that the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Friends Service Committee are distributing jointly. Future issues will follow a different pattern--watch for them.

They Endanger Life Everywhere. In spite of reassuring comments from the Atomic Energy Commission, hundreds of scientists continue to urge ending the tests. Radioactive fallout *is* dangerous, they point out, and emphasize that the AEC itself has repeatedly lowered the "permissible safe dose."

They Endanger Future Generations. Even the best-informed scientists know very little about the effects of radioactivity. Top geneticists repeat that "no radioactivity is safe," and warn that we may do irreparable damage in our ignorance.

"I have expressly refrained from speaking, in connection with these other matters, of that aspect of the atomic problem that now worries many of my countrymen most of all: namely, the damage that may be done to our human environment and to the genetic make-up of human beings by the mere testing of these fearful weapons, not to mention their actual use in war...

"Surely it is better that many of us should die somewhat before our time, than that we should live at the cost of prejudicing the conditions of life for our children. So long, therefore, as the scientists disagree about the effects of all this testing, it is our duty to be guided by our obligation to the other generations--not just our own."

George F. Kennan, BBC, December 1, 1957.

LIBRARY
GERMANY

A PETITION

To PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
The White House
Washington, D. C.

We ask you as a first realistic step toward disarmament and peace to cancel the nuclear weapons tests which the United States Government has scheduled for April, 1958, in the Pacific.

The testing of weapons of mass annihilation, by this country or any country, is biologically destructive and morally indefensible. Each test intensifies the atmosphere of fear and suspicion which undermines democracy and hastens the coming of war. By relying on the threat of annihilation, democratic nations necessarily remake themselves in the image of the very forces they seek to oppose.

H-Bombs and intercontinental missiles promise not security for one nation but destruction for all. They show the need for stopping—not stepping up—the arms race. Believing that successful monitoring of tests is possible, we urge you to break through the vicious circle of fear and distrust, challenge other nations to a like response, and make plain to the world's people our leadership for peace.

NAME ADDRESS

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This petition is distributed by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Friends Service Committee. Additional copies may be secured without charge from

Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271, Nyack, New York

Please send signed petitions, and contributions to cover cost, to the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Petitions should be returned by January 31, 1958

Fellowship

Box 271 *Nyack, N. Y.*

ALFRED HASSLER, Editor

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

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Quote Unquote

"We are all convinced that mankind must abolish war or suffer catastrophe; that the dilemma of opposing power groups and the arms race must be broken..."

--From the statement of 20 leading scientists at Pugwash, Nova Scotia, July 6, 1957.

"Each nuclear bomb test spreads an added burden of radioactive elements over every part of the world. Each added amount of radiation causes damage to the health of human beings all over the world, and causes damage to the pool of human germ plasm such as to lead to an increase in the number of seriously defective children that will be born in future generations."

--From an appeal by 2,000 scientists in June, 1957, to the governments and people of the world.

"The coming generation of 1500 million babies will include some 3 million who, by heredity or accident, will be severely handicapped, mentally or physically. The bo tests carried out to 1955 will have adc some 6000 to this number, just in the fi generation only....Six thousand is statis cally insignificant relative to 1500 mill --only important if one loves babies or one of the babies to be an idiot happer to be one's own."

--Prof.Kathleen Lonsda University College,Lond

"These test explosions are for 'securit but it would appear from some of the e dence at hand that we are now in t business of buying security for ourselv with the lives and bodies of unborn childr and if that should prove to be the case, th I think this is the ugliest bargain I ev heard of...I am ashamed to be part of tl race of shrewd traders and selfish secur hunters."

--E.B.White, in *Nbe N Yorker,* July 27, 1957.

"Tamiko Mizogami, 18, died toda what physicians diagnosed as radia disease. He was the 32d person to die year as a result of the atom bomb drop on Hiroshima in 1945."

--United Press disp from Hiroshima, Nov. 1957.

"We urge that as a first step governme conducting tests should forego them, least for a trial period, either together, individually, in the hope that the others v do the same, a new confidence be born, foundations be laid for reliable agreement

--Central Committee, W Council of Churches, A 5, 1957.

"Every person on this planet now probably contains a measurable amount o strontium-90 in his or her skeleton. Prior to the advent of atomic energy no suc contaminant existed...The world has witnessed almost 120 bomb tests so far That's almost one for every month since World War II. And a single bomb test toda can be the equal of a thousand Hiroshima-class bombs...As a layman I was some what shocked to find out how much the experts admitted they did not know about th long-term effects of radiation. In fact, when I thought over how little is known fo sure, I wondered how some officials of the government could be so positive tha bomb tests were so safe."

--Rep. Chet Holifield, Chairman Subcommittee on Radiation of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy

A MORAL EMERGENCY

BY LEWIS MUMFORD

USSIA's launching of two space satellites has brought about in American leaders norbid mixture of humiliation and frus- tion, anxiety and bravado. These re- ions have not been hidden either by ir belittling of Russia's technical achieve- nts or, in the next breath, promising an ergency program aimed at coming east of Russia in the field of potential ermination.

But if America is now disheartened by ssia's success, it is because we chose, a en years ago, a goal and a method iden- l to that of Russia's leaders; it is that nstrous decision, and not our failure to ieve it, that should be the chief reason our humiliation. Both governments ght to solve the problem of absolute wer, presented by nuclear weapons, by ncentrating their national resources on truments of genocide. That decision has eady proved far more dangerous than dangers it sought to avoid.

Now that Russia has completely broken monopoly of nuclear power and has nped ahead of us in rocket projectiles, it uld at last be plain that this policy was ed at the beginning on radical miscon- tions, and it is now utterly bankrupt. fore we compound these mistakes in a ies of fresh decisions of the same order, se who can still think straight might do ll to review our national errors and at- npt to lay out a course of action capable, applied in time, of rescuing mankind m the catastrophe that now threatens. at it will also save both Russia and the ited States is a necessary but incidental sequence.

The illusion of atomic monopoly, the il- ion of military—that is, genocidal—in- cibility, and the illusion of being at lib- erty to pursue a peaceful policy aiming only at national security, now have re- vealed themselves for what they actually are: the source of national impotence and worldwide insecurity. The American lead- ers who formulated and doggedly followed this policy stand convicted of having mis- understood the situation mankind faces in the atomic age, and of having enormously magnified by their mistaken policies the threat not only to peace but to human survival.

These mistakes have been confined to no party and no group. But the fact that they have been honestly made by patriotic men resolutely seeking to serve the best interests of their country, hopeful that they were also incidentally serving the cause of free- dom and humanity, does not abate the evil results they have already produced, or the total disaster that impends if we continue obstinately along the same lines.

On any count the present situation is a difficult one to face and surmount, because it is not easy to repent publicly of mistakes to which so many people have been deeply and unqualifiedly committed; and it is doubly difficult when, by their very com- mitments, they have trained themselves to see no possible alternatives. The first step toward exploring these alternatives is to lift the undemocratic veil of secrecy that has made our leaders' decisions so absolute, and that has made their errors unchallenge- able and inviolate, through their freedom from adequate public scrutiny.

In building up a wall of secrecy against Russia, our government has at the same time deprived its citizens of the knowledge needed to appraise the nature of the new powers we must learn to control. Because our government has placed the national

development of atomic weapons above any other form of security, it has deliberately hidden the one set of facts that could have curbed their mistaken policy; namely, the total danger to mankind's existence from an untrammeled exploitation of atomic energy before the necessary physical, biological, political and moral safeguards had been erected.

Fortunately, all these dangers, though sedulously played down by both the United States and Russia, in their eagerness to achieve superiority in nuclear extermination, provide the soundest possible basis for a new orientation. Even on the partial evidence that filters through the jealously guarded files of the Atomic Energy Commission, we know that relatively small amounts of radioactive poisons, released by bomb testing alone, have probably increased the incidence of leukemia and bone cancer, and have certainly caused genetic changes that will register in later generations. We know, too, that more will progressively reduce the expectation of life.

In the case of a full-scale nuclear war, even without bacterial and other chemical accompaniments, those who were unfortunate enough to escape immediate extermination would be doomed to slow death, through radioactive air and water, no matter how distant they might be from the points of attack. But even the lethal amounts released in a "successful" one-sided attack would do serious damage to the rest of the human race, including of course the momentarily victorious nation. This menace, and not any program of arms inspection, is the only effective safeguard against atomic blackmail. The instruments that the United States and Russia wrought for their supposed protection are precisely those that neither, while the impulse to self-preservation remains, dares to use.

In short, all countries are vulnerabl the misuse of nuclear fission; therefore countries, even our enemy's, must be tected. Here is the honorable basis fo rational reorientation of public policy

To continue on our present course the conviction that there are no vis alternatives, is the most dangerous of many paths open to us. But if, on the trary, we overcome our crestfallen prid American superiority and turn to the of the world for moral support, good co sel, and active aid in developing a orientation, even our present enemies not afford to be deaf to that appeal.

Next to our government's clinging policy of protective extermination (a massive retaliation) itself, the greatest stacle to this reorientation lies in the s of moral paralysis that has afflicted whole nation, as if the wholesale sprea tranquilizers and sleeping pills had fected our collective judgment. Deaf to admonitory voices of an Albert Einstei Bertrand Russell, an Albert Schweitze Pope Pius, or an Omar Bradley, the r fled response of our leaders, up to n gives the measure of their moral supine and their abject failure of even intellec apprehension.

Unless our present humiliation prod a general arousal of all our faculties, situation will remain a black one. Bu still has potentially one saving feat which permits a gleam of hope. In te of ultimate biological survival, the real terests of the Russian people and the A ican people are at one with those of n kind. What is more, this human claim t scends any national interest or any part ideological goal. In the swift recognitio this inescapable fact lies the only exit a from the tomb we have been preparing mankind.

PEACEFUL ACCOMMODATION

BY OMAR N. BRADLEY

THE CENTRAL PROBLEM of our time—as I view it—is how to employ human intelligence for the salvation of mankind. It is a problem we have put upon ourselves. For we have defiled our intellect by the creation of such scientific instruments of destruction that we are now in desperate danger of destroying ourselves. Our plight is critical and with each effort we have made to relieve it by further scientific advance, we have succeeded only in aggravating our peril.

As a result, we are now speeding i orably toward a day when even the genuity of our scientists may be unabl save us from the consequences of a si rash act or a lone reckless hand upon switch of an uninterceptable missile. twelve years now we've sought to stav this ultimate threat of disaster by devi arms which would be both ultimate disastrous.

An Electronic House of Cards

This irony can probably be compounded ew more years, or perhaps even a few ades. Missiles will bring anti-missiles, d anti-missiles will bring anti-anti-mis-es. But inevitably this whole electronic use of cards will reach a point where it be constructed no higher.

At that point we shall have come to the ak of this whole incredible dilemma into ich the world is shoving itself. And en that time comes there will be little can do other than to settle down un-sily, smother our fears, and attempt to e in a thickening shadow of death.

Should this situation come to pass, we uld have but one single and thin thread cling to. We call it rationale or reason. e reason that no Government, no single up of men—indeed, not even one will-individual—would be so foolhardy, so kless, as to precipitate a war which uld surely end in mutual destruction.

This reasoning may have the benefit of ic. But even logic sometimes goes awry. w can we assume that reason will pre-l in a crisis, when there is ordinarily so le reason among men? To those who uld take comfort in the likelihood of an mic peace to be secured solely by ra-nale and reason, I would recall the se of reason in a bunker under the ich Chancellery in Berlin. It failed be-e, it can fail again.

Have we already gone too far in this rch for peace through the accumulation peril? Is there any way to halt this nd—or must we push on with new de-es until we inevitably come to judgment fore the atom? I believe there is a way t. And I believe it because I have ac-ired in my lifetime a decent respect for man intelligence.

t may be that the problems of accom-dation in a world split by rival ideolo-s are more difficult than those with ich we have struggled in the construc-n of ballistic missiles. But I believe, too, t if we apply to these human problems energy, creativity, and perseverance we ve devoted to science, even problems of ommodation will yield to reason. Ad-ttedly, the problem of peaceful accom-dation in the world is infinitely more icult than the conquest of space, infin-y more complex than a trip to the on. But if we will only come to the lization that it must be worked out—atever it may mean even to such sacred ditions as absolute national sovereignty believe that we can somehow, some-ere, and perhaps through some as yet undiscovered world thinker and leader, find a workable solution.

The Faith We Need

I confess that this is as much an article of faith as it is an expression of reason. But this is what we need, faith in our ability to do what must be done. Without that faith we shall never get started. And until we get started, we shall never know what can be done.

If I am sometimes discouraged, it is not by the magnitude of the problem, but by our colossal indifference to it. I am unable to understand why—if we are willing to trust in reason as a restraint on the use of a ready-made, ready-to-fire bomb—we do not make greater, more diligent and more imaginative use of reason and human intelligence in seeking an accord and compromise which will make it possible for mankind to control the atom and banish it as an instrument of war.

This is the real and indeed the most strenuous challenge to man's intellect today. By comparison with it, the conquest of space is of small significance. For until we learn how to live together, until we rid ourselves of the strife that mocks our pretensions of civilization, our adventures in science—instead of producing human progress— will continue to crowd it with greater peril.

We can compete with a Sputnik and probably create bigger and better Sputniks of our own. But what are we doing to prevent the Sputnik from evolving into just one more weapons system? And when are we going to muster an intelligence equal to that applied against the Sputnik and dedicate it to the preservation of this Satellite on which we live?

How long, I would ask you, can we put off salvation?

When does humanity run out?

If enough of us believe strongly enough in the ability of intelligent human beings to get together on some basis of a just accord, we might somehow, somewhere, in some way and under some auspices, make a start on it.

Unless we soon get started, it may be too late.

We can't sit about waiting for some felicitous accident of history that may somehow make the world all right. Time is running against us, and it is running against us with the speed of a Sputnik.

If we're going to save ourselves from the instruments of our own intellect, we had better soon get ourselves under control and begin making the world safe for living.

A VISIT TO Europe

BY KIRBY PAGE

AT THE CONCLUSION of the Gospel of Saint John are these words: "But there is much else that Jesus did—so much, that if it were written down in detail, I do not suppose the world itself could hold the written records." All last summer we were witnessing the never-completed work of our Lord Jesus in the lives of men and women of different lands, who in these days are writing new chapters in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles. Our Peace and Spiritual Life Tours, two of them, were under the auspices of the Baptist Peace Fellowship, with the Reverend William Hammond Jr. and myself as leaders. Our purpose was to gain insight into the international situation; to become acquainted with some of the great and heroic Christians of our generation; and to help build bridges of international goodwill. There were eighteen of us in the first group, and twenty-seven in the second.

A German Quaker

Margarethe Lachmund, one of the most influential Quakers in Europe, spoke to us of experiences with Hitlerism and with Communism in East Berlin. Her husband was sentenced by the Nazis to twenty-five years hard labor in a concentration camp, and for an extended period it was not known whether he was dead or alive. After years of privation and brutality he was set free in broken health. In charge of important social work, Frau Lachmund put forth continuous efforts to obtain food and other necessities for the children under her ca and for years she has negotiated with to itarian officials. Her frankness and fearl ness, her gentleness and serenity have w the respect and confidence of her op nents. Once only out of numerous nego tions did she fail to obtain the sustena required for those under her care. She t us that always she proceeds with the con tion that in officials of totalitarianism a there is that of God, and related instan of kindliness and generosity at their han In this woman of God there is no fear a no ill-will.

In all my life I have rarely matched experience of listening to a panel of m valiant Christians than when we sat bef André and Magda Trocmé, Philippe V nier, Pastor Bosc, and Michael Scott.

A French Huguenot

André Trocmé is a former French pas with a brilliant mind and rich experie who was confined in a concentration ca during World War II for aiding Jews a other refugees. After several weeks the cials found that he was exerting so m influence on the other prisoners that La personally ordered his release, but he soon driven into hiding and remained the mountains for ten months. After war he conducted a school at Le Chamb and for seven years he has been secre of the International Fellowship of Rec ciliation. Both André and Magda h studied in New York City. She gave u

id description of the difficulties and ils of operating an "underground rail-," for persecuted Jews. It is perhaps a nservative estimate that a thousand lives e saved by their courageous endeavors. ey told us of their work of reconcilia- n between Arabs and French in Algeria.

An Austrian Catholic

t was a privilege of a lifetime to be with degard Mayr of Vienna for four days the Trocmés' center in Versailles. She is devout Catholic, with saintly spirit, a n mind, a doctor's degree, and a rich ex- ience. She lived under Nazism, and her ne in Vienna was partly demolished by American bomb. She spoke of the pres- privation and suffering of the people Poland, and shared with us some of her periences in Europe. Now a traveling retary of the International Fellowship Reconciliation, she moves quietly about continent, talking with lowly people, hops, priests, pastors, teachers—arrang- conferences, addressing groups, reflect- light, radiating hope.

Long had I desired to know Philippe Ver- r, whose devotional writings had stirred so deeply. Because of strong Christian victions he refused to accept French litary service, and was imprisoned; and en released, sentenced again, serving nty-four months of his time in solitary finement. During these long weeks of nce, he frequently broke out in song: "I l wonder and joy. God was so near and l that I was sometimes almost over- wered." The jailer once became annoyed his singing and isolated him for eight s with no bed, only a stone bench. Con- ning this period he exclaimed, "My hap- ess was like that of a rescued child's, as I was on an ocean all drowned, and n God's arms underneath lifting me !" He is now a pastor in northern nce. By nature and conviction he is a onciler, so he ministers to Communists l non-Communists alike. A guest in the rnier home once whispered to a com- nion: "Here is the France I have been king for." And the reply came: "For me s the Kingdom of Heaven!" In his final port a French prison official wrote con- ning Vernier, "Incorrigibly Christian."

The Lester Sisters

In England we spent a memorable eve- ng with Muriel and Doris Lester, at ngsley Hall, a social settlement which ey founded some forty years ago. They t their home of wealth and privilege and rged their lives with the poor who lived in privation and squalor. A pioneer of the Hall thrilled us with an account of the early struggles for social justice, and spoke of her prison experience with George Lans- bury in a successful effort to obtain more equitable assistance for the people of their borough. Muriel stirred our souls by talk- ing intimately about great moments in her richly creative life, and by leading us in a period of vibrant worship.

We were received by the Reverend Don- ald Soper, and heard him preach an inspir- ing sermon. He is a London cockney him- self and is gifted with a keen sense of humor and with brilliant repartee, which he uses in outdoor meetings on Wednesday noons and Sunday afternoons in Hyde Park. All over England he speaks constantly about the meaning of Christianity in eco- nomic life, politics, and international af- fairs.

Michael Scott came to the Trocmé home while we were there, and talked with us about the grave crisis in South Africa, and related some of his experiences. We were vividly reminded that all over the world the colored races are pushing irresistibly upward to a status of justice and dignity. Michael Scott is one of the many heroes of the faith who are laying foundations for the new world of fellowship across all bar- riers.

From Bückeburg to Versailles

We talked with numerous individuals about their experiences during the dread- ful days of Adolf Hitler. Many of our ses- sions in Germany were held at Freund- schaftsheim, an international peace center near Bückeburg, under the leadership of Pastor Mensching, who for many years served as pastor of an ancient Lutheran village church. With the rise of Nazism, he and his wife were in constant danger be- cause of their outspoken opposition to it and their refusal to cry, "Heil Hitler!" A dramatic moment came when at a refer- endum they openly voted against the Hit- ler program, knowing that they might be thrown into a concentration camp. From his pulpit Pastor Mensching continued to challenge his people to remain loyal to their Christian convictions and stand firmly against hatred and violence and brutality. Time after time he befriended Jews and other refugees. It is a miracle of God that he remained free and able to continue his work of reconciliation. Different Nazi offi- cials protected him, and once the Nazi Mayor of his village risked his life for his friend. Long will we remember a Sunday service of worship when Pastor Mensching

moved us to tears with his quiet story of men and women who had been spiritually transformed by fidelity to Christ in days of terrible persecution and awful suffering. With good reason, the Quakers nominated Pastor Mensching for the Nobel Peace Prize.

In Versailles I renewed an old acquaintance with Henri Roser, a kindly and compassionate and daring Christian who endured the ordeal of solitary confinement in prison, and who has kept his light burning under armed occupation and oppression. As a pastor and church administrator, he is constantly bearing testimony to the transforming power of loving relations. Some years ago his wife wrote, "If you asked our children, 'What does your father do?' they would certainly reply, 'Papa?' 'He is either traveling or else looking after drunkards.' He has a marvelous gift for the 'cure of souls."

Three Inspiring Germans

As we listened to Propst Grueber, sometimes called the dean of the churches of Berlin, we felt that he might have walked right out of the New Testament. In the terrible Dachau concentration camp, where he was imprisoned for befriending persecuted Jews and standing resolutely against Nazism, a heart attack brought him near death, and his body was laid in a row of corpses for removal. A Communist inmate noticed that Gruber's eyes were twitching, and at a considerable personal risk this man hid him under a bed in a barracks, and shared with him a pittance of food. On a different occasion another Communist saved his life. Intense and prolonged suffering has left no mark of hatred and hostility on the serene and smiling countenance of this man of reconciliation.

In Germany one of our memorable experiences was listening to Rear-Admiral Ludwig Stummel tell of dramatic moments in his life as a naval officer under Hitler. Gradually he became aware of the true nature of Nazism and on several occasions flatly refused to obey orders, even when warned that his sons would be taken by the state. All his life he has been a devout Catholic, and in defiance of a specific order, he continued to attend Holy Mass. It is almost incredible that he was not sent to a concentration camp. At the end of the war, he was imprisoned in England for a year. When tried as a war criminal, he was acquitted by an Allied court. His family was reduced to destitution and he supported them by making shoes. He has now become a convinced Christian pacifist. At the conclusion of his second session w us, we sat silently in prayer, and sudde in broken voice he prayed aloud in G man. Then one of our number prayed English. Surely God heard all our pray uttered and unexpressed.

For four wonderful hours Martin N möller talked with us and answered q tions. Eight years of his life were spent Hitler's concentration camps, most of th lonely months in solitary confinement. C side his prison window was a gallows, a often he reflected upon the possibility his own execution. Beginning as a nowned submarine commander in the F World War, he became the most formida opponent of Nazism, and now has mo into the position of an ardent Christ pacifist. At luncheon we listened to his larious jokes, and marveled at the rela tion and serenity of one whose life been crowded with perilous adventure a subjected to much anguish. At the con sion of our second session with him, joined in fervent prayer as he prayed German.

Other Highlights

Other high points of the summer w tea in the house of Commons as guests Reginald Sorenson, Victor Yates, Em Hughes and several other members Parliament; talking with Foreign Mini Gromyko at the American Embassy in M cow on July Fourth; members of our pa watching Khrushchev and Bulganin ride in a huge Leningrad parade; in Geneva interpretation by the Reverend Chen Wu of the situation in Formosa; se hours on a chartered bus from Frankfur Bückeburg through the beautiful coun side of Germany; a visit to NATO and ing told that, in the event of attack, NA forces are ready to strike within an ho our emotions when informed that in event of a nuclear war 85% of Allied Russian cities would be demolished and unimaginable number of people killed; in the home of Countess Gontau-Biron Paris and conversation with distinguis guests; visits to UNESCO, the United tions and the World Council of Churc an evaluation of the health of Protest churches in Europe by Edwin Bell; glorious hours on a Lake Geneva boat; tired feet after hours in museums and galleries; standing in the ancient ghett Warsaw where half a million Jews w starved and massacred.

An interpretation of the situation in Soviet Union by André Phillip after

(Continued of Page 34.)

The Social Sources of Man's Insecurity

BY ERICH FROMM

HE ANSWER to the question, what contribution can the social sciences make to e problems of mental health, depends on r concept of mental health. I would differentiate between two concepts of mental alth.

The first sees mental health as adjustent to the norms and habits of an existing ciety; mental illness as maladjustment. om this relativistic standpoint any given lture is assumed to be normal, not only the statistical sense, but also in the normive sense of being good and desirable.

The second concept of mental health is sed on the assumption that the nature of an, in spite of all differences, is the same all cultures, races and historical periods; at the same laws govern him not only ysically but also psychologically and that rtain values and aims for his developent follow from his nature.

Any society that is conducive to man's velopment toward these goals, which is rthering life, is good; any society that ocks this development and obstructs the folding of life is evil. Any culture must judged from this criterion; it is not good cause it exists and has power, but only if fulfills the function of making man more man.

Needless to say, there is no necessary absolute contradiction between adjustent and the striving for these human als. It is a relative contradiction which ries according to the approximation of y given culture to the aims of humanity.

The State of Health

From this position mental health is not the same as adaption to society but it is to be defined objectively as the state of mind which is in accordance with the nature of man and the goals and values which follow from his nature. Just as a society in which the majority of people suffer from tuberculosis is not for this reason a society of healthy people, a culture in which the majority of people fail to realize the aims of humanity is not a culture conducive to mental health.

Moreover, there seems to be ample evidence for the assumption that man's character structure is moulded by the organization of society, its mode of production and distribution, its social and political structure, its ideals and values stemming from its practice of life.

From these premises the conclusion follows that mental health is primarily a social, economic, political and ethical problem and hence one which can be properly approached only by the cooperation of all social scientists.

I want to show more concretely why I believe that, especially at the present moment, the goals of mental hygiene require a thorough and critical appraisal of our social structure and culture and hence such cooperation of all social sciences.

The premise of the following considerations is the thesis that our contemporary Western society, in spite of its material, intellectual and political progress, is increas-

ingly less conducive to mental health, and tends to undermine the inner security, happiness, reason and the capacity for love in the individual; that it tends to turn him into an automaton who pays for his human failure with increasing mental sickness, and with despair hidden under a frantic drive for work and so-called pleasure.

I propose that those concerned with mental health must examine whether this assumption is borne out by the facts, and, if so, what are the causes for modern society's destructive effect on mental health and which social changes are necessary for a sane and mentally healthy life.

What is in fact the human situation in contemporary Western society?

Man has become a commodity. He is not only busy selling commodities and services, his chief interest is to sell himself. His aim is to become a success; not as a human being, not by developing reason, love or his artistic capacities, but by developing the kind of personality which is in demand on the personality market.

He has to have the feelings and ideas which are not contrary to anyone, he has to develop a "pleasant personality," whose opinions are always up-to-date and who has no convictions and no doubts. His sense of self-respect and value depend on his salability, his success; hence he is always insecure, haunted by inferiority feelings, dependent on others' approval, on changing personality fashions.

This orientation is hardly avoidable in a culture where the production of things has become the main aim of human effort, an end in itself, and not as a means for a more human life. Being chiefly concerned with selling things and making a profit, man has become a thing himself.

But do we not find a great deal of enjoyment and pleasure in modern culture? People listen to the radio, go to the movies, watch TV, etc. Only the superficial observer will find that these activities are a genuine expression of pleasure. They are to a large extent a compulsive and frantic attempt to escape from inner emptiness; they are symptoms of the inability to be with oneself—or, for that matter, with anyone else, without the protection of such escape devices.

Man wants to have leisure time, but he is afraid of it when he has it—and tries to kill it. There is a curious contradiction in his character: his work is compulsive because he has to prove his human worth by success; but as compensation for his obsession with work he has developed an extraordinary craving for laziness.

We are obsessed with a desire for pu
button power, with the wish to achi
great results without effort, by twistin
dial, or moving a gear shift.

This too results from our practice of l
Man spends most of his energy in a ki
of work which is meaningless to h
Whether he is high up or at the bottom
the social ladder, he is a cog in the
chine, he feels consciously powerless a
insignificant or he has to hide an unc
scious feeling of insignificance and hum
impotence by having power over others,
being important.

Whatever his position is, he is filled w
a deep indifference towards his work, wh
makes him a prisoner and absorbs his b
energies without making him happy. He
indifferent to, and often unconsciou
hates his commodity, his customers,
competitors, his superiors, and those bel
him—and most important of all, he ha
himself.

He is politically free, and can vote
his representatives. This is indeed an i
portant achievement, and further progr
depends on its preservation. But it is
enough.

When people lack critical judgme
sound information, how can their act
choosing be meaningful? Moreover, we
not have the social and political arran
ments to give the individual citizen the p
sibility of participating effectively in m
ing political decisions.

This is left, like most other import
decisions, to the specialist, the political s
cialist, who feeds the individual with the
lusion that it is he, the voter, who ma
the decisions.

We do not develop political intelliger
and responsibility, because there are no
fective ways of active participation—a
one must not only think before one a
one must also be able to act in order
think.

Man is Automaton

We still profess to the traditional ide
of Western culture. But modern man
idly becomes an automaton, living with
love and without faith; without love
only for others, but without love for h
self, without faith in life and in his o
powers. Who should know better than
psychiatrist where this situation leads

Mental illness is caused by inability
relate oneself to others, by lack of fa
and integrity; if this inability to relate o
self reaches extreme proportions, the res
is insanity.

There is no need to quote statistics

extent of mental illness in modern cul-
e. But even the great number of normal
ople are no comfort. Many of them are
rmal because they are so well adjusted to
mode of life, their human voice has
n silenced so early in their lives that
y do not even struggle or suffer or de-
op symptoms, as the neurotic does.
ndeed, let us beware of defining mental
giene as the prevention of symptoms.
nptoms as such are not our enemy, but
friend; where there are symptoms there
onflict, and conflict always indicates that
forces of life which strive for integra-
n and happiness are still fighting.

e Age of Uniformity

While we still hang onto
illusion of individual-
we are moving rapidly
vard an age of uniform-
. Not only commodities
mass fabricated, but
o opinions, feelings, and
tes. A society in which
individual does not
e where his feelings and
victions stem from is
und to be manipulated
d directed by a central-
d authority, regardless
the political ideology
ich is employed.
ndeed, uniformity and
edom are incompatible.
iformity and mental
lth are incompatible
. Man is not made to be an automaton.
d if he becomes one, the basis for mental
lth is destroyed.

t is one of the most significant insights
modern psychology that mental health is
ted in man's ability to make productive
of his powers; if he is blocked in this,
is sick, whether his sickness manifests it-
in symptoms or is hidden under the
zen mask of complete adjustment.
To this criticism of modern society
uld be added a remark which should
rect the one-sidedness of this criticism.
t only have I omitted to mention cer-
n positive aspects of contemporary cul-
e, I have also not mentioned the fact
t many cultures of the past have been
ually or more destructive to mental
lth.
Every society, past or present, which is
lt on force, which condones the exploi-
on of man by man, which rewards ag-
ssion and destructiveness, corrupts man;
orrupts the one who wields power as
ch as the one over whom he rules.

Human relations which are based on power and exploitation are contrary to the requirements of human nature, they create fear and insecurity, and result in mental sickness. Human relations built on love and respect are not just a religious and philosophical ideal. The study of neurosis proves empirically that they are the necessary condition of sanity.

The Tasks of Mental Health

What then, is the task of those concerned with mental health?

The tasks which the mental hygiene movement pursue at present are necessary and significant. But I believe that beyond those tasks a thorough criticism of our practice of life and our social structure is necessary. Specifically, I propose two tasks:

(1) To investigate in detail the problems which matter in this respect. What do we know, for instance, about such significant questions as these: Are people happy? (And by this question I mean whether they are happy, and not whether they think or say they are happy, as the public opinion polls are trying to find out.) What values and ethical norms do really, and not fictionally, determine their actions? What meaning does work have for them?

What is their capacity to love, as differentiated from sexual desire or the wish to have the latest model of partner—or the illusion that if one person who feels lonely and insecure finds another person whom he mistakes for being strong and secure they will be happy when they live together?

What is modern man's attitude towards authority? Not only towards the overt authority of political or religious leaders, but towards the anonymous authority of public opinion, success, the specialists, the market?

What do we mean by our ambiguous concepts of security, freedom, self-interest, which are glibly used without ever clarifying their different and often contradictory meanings?

Hardly any research has been done in these fields: yet it can be done with the research tools and the theoretical knowledge we have, if only we consider those questions as vitally important; and, I should

like to add, if we begin to criticize ourselves rather than to display our moral and critical sense only in judging the "enemy" —whoever he may be.

(2) On the basis of such research, those concerned with mental hygiene must dare to have imagination in order to propose such changes in our social and political organization which could be the basis of mental health, a practice of life where man becomes an end in himself, and ceases to be a prefabricated automaton.

It is obvious that from this viewpoint the psychiatrist and psychologist have to integrate their work with that of the economist, sociologist, anthropologist, political scientist—and with that of the student of philosophy and ethics—in order to be able to make even the most tentative suggestions for an organization of society more conducive to human unfolding and productiveness and harmony, that is, to mental health.

THE FELLOWSHIP ABROAD

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16.)

ism is the majority religion and where Gandhi, a non-Christian, has already demonstrated such a supreme example of nonviolence.

Many of the villagers and peasants who listen to FOR speakers still think of Christianity as the religion of the British imperialist ruling class and its hangers-on, and they are suspicious of it.

Two of the major problems in establishing the FOR have been the vastness of the country and its poverty. If the FOR is to take root in India, it must get into the villages, where there is the greatest need for social and educational reform and reconciliation. Few Indian FOR members have money to donate. The organization cannot afford full-time workers. J. P. Joshua, the present General Secretary, and members of the Executive Committee devote as much time to FOR affairs as their jobs permit, but it is an uphill struggle all the way. The ground to be covered is vast and traveling expenses are high.

The IFOR provides some help from its frugal budget, but more money is needed to employ a full-time Organizing Secretary.

Literature is needed to reach the small villages. FOR organizations in many countries have donated literature and small lending libraries have been set up. But here is another difficulty—very few people whom the FOR reaches speak English. Books and pamphlets on pacifism have to be written in or translated into five languages—Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malay. To date three booklets Tamil are ready for distribution, and w these the Indian Fellowship hopes to m contact with Tamil-speaking peoples India, Ceylon, Malaya, Africa and Jama Tamil translations of *A Conversation w Vinoba Bhave* and Foley's *Appointm with Mars* are currently in print, and other books are being translated into languages.

Gradually the work of the FOR is g ing in effectiveness. Members are becom more sensitive to the need for reconci tion in their own localities and are bec ing more interested in the FOR as a p tical means for establishing peace. M and more letters are coming to Dr. Josh asking for help and advice in meeting te situations.

On the international front, the FOR concerned to heal the lingering enmity tween India and Pakistan. Through efforts, special prayers for greater und standing and reconciliation have been s in churches and it is hoped to arra some work camps of youngsters from b countries.

In 1956, in cooperation with the In national Voluntary Service, the FOR h a work camp in Kerala State, where t helped build homes for a colony of grants. This and similar projects have d much to spread the word of friendship

In seeking to enforce human rights i context of extreme poverty and social justice, the Indian FOR has been subjec to smear campaigns similar to those ex rienced by the Fellowship in this coun An editorial in the *Biblical Witness*, p lished in Kanpur, North India, depic *Arunodayam*, the organ of the FOR, the "most rabid" of pro-Communist r gious periodicals. The editorial stated t *Arunodayam* has "consistently mixed pro-communism with pro-Romanism the modernistic 'social gospel.'"

In the Indian's struggle for social eq ity there is constant reference to the pr lems of desegregation in America and Joshua has found his work made ea with the success of the nonviolent mo ment in Montgomery, Ala. Here is so thing close to the heart of India that proved the success of active pacifism in West.

On balance, the Fellowship in the l of Gandhi has few achievements to b of, and many problems to overcome. A marks its eighth anniversary next fall may reflect that, with faith, all things possible—and this the Indian FOR has abundance.

Timely Studies in Race Relations

ERICAN CHURCHES AND THE NEGRO by D. Weatherford. The Christoper Pub-ing House. 1947. $3.50.

E NEGRO IN THE UNITED STATES by Ray-l W. Logan. D. Van Nostrand. 1957. 5.

KING TO BE CHRISTIAN IN RACE RELA-NS by Benjamin E. Mays. Friendship SS. 1957. $1.50.

E CATHOLIC VIEWPOINT ON RACE RELA-NS by John LaFarge. Hanover House. 6. $2.95.

E NEGRO IN AMERICA by Arnold Rose. con Press. 1956. $1.45.

book, for purely mechanical reasons, not be up-to-date in reporting on so -moving a scene as that of race rela-ns. All these books are timely, though e of them mentions Little Rock, or fabulous governor of Arkansas, or that observation attributed to one of our executives that "there are many ear-Christians on both sides of this issue." anyone finding himself on both sides he same time these books should prove cially helpful.

merican Churches and the Negro is a l-documented report on the historic at-des and official statements of seven large ominations and one small one (Quak-regarding slavery and the Negro slave he United States. The pro- and anti-ery arguments, both based firmly on authority of Scripture, would be of e interest to us now except that they still being used to justify and to con-n racial discrimination, segregation, the inferior social and economic status he Negro. The same Scriptural citations now also being employed to justify or ondemn warfare between nations. It is for most of us, with chattel slavery a dred years behind us, to see through weak and transparent casuistry in-ed in the pro-slavery argument from y Writ; how long the similar arguments white supremacy and for nationalistic igerency will be accepted among us is present concern.

ackground history (important for the erstanding of any live issue) may be nd on our present race relations in ford W. Logan's *The Negro in the ited States,* a brief history of 192 pages ng a concise record of events from the ortation of twenty African "servants" amestown in 1619 to the present time,

BOOKS

including the text of the most relevant documents bearing on the race situation from the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 to the desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court in 1954 and 1955. A valuable book for quick reference on these matters.

The author of *Seeking to Be Christian in Race Relations* states that it "might well be considered a Christian theological basis for a declaration of human rights." His logic is easy to follow and to accept, but, as Dr. Mays makes clear, no matter how acceptable the logic or how rigorously the proof has been established, little is accomplished until conviction leads to action: "One may find himself in an environment where it is suicidal to go against current practices . . . but . . . one must find ways of keeping alive his beliefs through action or he may *accept his environment and lose his beliefs.*" (My italics.)

From those of us who, after the corrosion of two world wars, still uphold the old concept of free enterprise in the realm of ideas, *The Catholic Viewpoint on Race Relations* requires an open-handed welcome. Father LaFarge draws no invidious comparisons, but it is all to the good of Protestantism that he points out the superiority of the Roman Catholic position and practice in this field. Concerned Protestants as well as Catholics should study this book.

I read every word of the 351 pages of *The Negro in America,* not from fear of missing something important for a reviewer but because every word seemed a vital contribution to my own better understanding of the race problem. This is a condensation of Gunnar Myrdal's now-classic report, *An American Dilemma.* It has been updated with an introduction by the compiler and a foreword by Myrdal commending this abridged edition of the original 1500 pages. The "dilemma," as Myrdal sees it, is "... the great struggle in white people's minds—the struggle between the democratic ideals of equality in the American Creed and the obvious lack of equality in the treatment of the American Negro."

Anyone who brings his own prejudices and the old accepted ideas about racial differences to the reading of this book is apt to find them blowing up in his face on any page. How the doctrine of white supremacy keeps both whites and blacks in bondage; how failure to provide the Negro with opportunity for advancement into the skilled trades and the professions does not

really protect the whites in their superior status but instead is forcing an economic burden on them which may become unendurable in an age of increasing mechanization; how the "poor whites" are kept at the bottom of the social scale by their own determination to look down on the Negroes—all these points and many others are clearly argued, and ways to a practical solution are proposed. As a minor criticism I would suggest a more adequate index for so comprehensive a text.

These pestiferous books, how they prick our consciences! And it still is hard to kick against the pricks of conscience, even as it was on that Damascus road so long ago.

—Chauncy D. Preston

Neo-Freudian Dogma on War

The Unconscious Motives of War by Alix Strachey. International Universities Press. 1957. $5.

I can't say that I got much out of reading this book, which appears as lifeless as the printed word can get. But my effort to do so gave rise to a chain of associations about psychoanalysis which I have no intention of sparing the reader. I propose, in fact, to tack them onto my "book review" if with no other excuse than that I happen to have the floor.

The book is a straightforward restatement of Freud's system of psychoanalysis. Despite its provocative title, it does not pretend to be much of anything else. Although there are occasional references to other early psychoanalysts, almost all of the text draws its authority from Freud's writings alone.

It lacks, however, the brilliance and the evidence of inner conflict that characterizes much of the work of Freud himself. Rather, it is complacent, altogether free of conflict, and utterly subservient to the word of the master. It reproduces his most scintillating insights side by side with his fundamental fallacies, all in the soft, monotonous voice of dogma. In this respect it is quite unworthy of the teacher; Freud, although himself sometimes egotistical and dogmatic, was a tireless seeker for truth.

That he was only partially successful in this quest is understandable, in view of his rigorous materialism. But I have less sympathy for the great host of his disciples in this country and England who still refuse to venture beyond his insights. Mrs. Strachey's book is characteristic of this group. It is one thing to be strongly influenced by Freud's thinking, as is the case with many of our most creative social scientists. But it is quite another to be ensla by it, as appears to be the case, not Mrs. Strachey alone, but with a consi able segment of our intellectuals.

Freud himself was a pioneer. Neo-Fre ianism, in contrast, represents probably most sterile and ultraconservative attit found in the social sciences today. I nearly always identified with the st quo. It is highly ritualized in pract Above all, it proves consistently incapa of contributing to the solution of m social ills. (The final chapters of this bo for example, are little more than a gr of impotence and despair.)

One implication of this situation is a great many people have, like Strachey, only Freud to guide them into understanding of problems like the conscious motives of war. This restrict of vision leads to a gloomy and hideo inadequate grasp of the subject. Fr never concerned himself with the natur life itself. For him, all was matter, mately tangible. Psychic phenomena merely representations of "chemical" of his favorite idioms) processes.

This attitude anchored his compreh sion of man hopelessly to the sens "Real" meant for him that which is ceptual and measurable. In terms of dr it meant the physical gratification of stinct—with good, with sexual object, Man's ultimate destiny was to become gastically potent, and his highest goal life mature sexual performance. His hope of social harmony, therefore, wa "sublimate" his sexual and aggressive stincts into socially acceptable channels

If this were really so, how could possibly hope for peace? Wars are posed to be born of lust and greed selfishness. These qualities are the essence of man's instinctual drives. then can one escape the destructive eff of the instincts when the very energy uses in trying to do so is borrowed f the instincts themselves? A man can really lift himself up by his own b straps. Nor can human lusts really be source from which selflessness and p are to be fashioned. The instincts are compromisingly selfish, and Freud's masking of those that superficially app otherwise is altogether brilliant. As made clear, they seek nothing but s manipulate the external world as to ach the maximum opportunity for discharg painfully accumulated tension. The far ahead a man can see, the more "civili will appear his instinct-driven beha in this regard. In enlightened self-inte

will postpone certain immediate gratifications in order later to obtain them with ater satisfaction and higher impunity. t the aim is the same: to get what the petites demand. If this were really the ole of man, he would be doomed. Yet s is the atttiude in which the most sosticated psychiatric outlook in this coun has been nurtured.

The truth is that man cannot be adetely explained as a product of his inacts. His most urgent goal is not mature ual union; it is love. (These are not, by ong shot, the same thing. "Sexual love" ends itself only to one person, and cifically excludes all the rest of the rld.) Man's highest expression of pocy is not just through his orgasm; it is ough his capacity for selflessness. For it his very ability to give of himself that nonstrates the superabundance of life hin him. From the moment of his birth, n seeks escape from the intolerable son of his isolation. His greatest anxies relate not to instinctual frustration to his inability to love. Unless he can e, he cannot establish contact with that ich exists beyond the boundaries of his n ego. Without the experience of love, always turns away from life and destroys self. This is true even of the newborn ant, who, in the midst of unlimited supes to his instinctual demands (food, rmth, etc.), will grow sick and eventually in the absence of love. Man's essence, central core of his being, is not physior "chemical"; it is spiritual.

think American (and British) psychiais nearer to accepting, or at least tolting, these insights than it was a decade . But from what I have seen of them, I n't think the adherents of the viewpoint resented by Mrs. Strachey are going to nge without a struggle. If that is true, I ieve we can look forward to some lively troversy as the lines of cleavage between se two opposing viewpoints gradually ome more sharply drawn.

—Robert C. Murphy Jr., M.D.

Man's Character

E Character of Man, by Emmanuel Mounier. Harper & Bros., 1957. 300 pp., 6.

This compendious book—abridged from original 800 pages—is a rich and rding contribution to our understanding the character of the human being.

Mounier, the late French Catholic "peralist," has utilized in brilliant fashion contributions of psychology and psychiatry to sketch a portrait of the scientifically analyzable aspects of man's character.

Sketches of types, however, constitute only a first step on the road to understanding the individual. The characterologist must be both scientist and novelist (creator): although employing empirical data "he never discovers man until he rediscovers or re-creates personal man . . . that person capable of free and transcendental actions which escape determination by the empirical character."

The unique, "absolute individual"—the ultimate unity of the personal being, the Person—can only be known by what is essentially a "comprehension" on the part of the observer and by "an act of direct knowledge of one person by his like." Such an act is a "communion, changing both the knower and the known."

Furthermore, the character of a person cannot be defined only in terms of "the given"—the static aspects of the situation at any moment. An adequate definition must include a future, a valuation, a desired finality.

A key to Mounier's position is the affirmation that "character is not a fact but an act" and that this act involves courageous abandon and commitment. Illustrative of this central theme is the emphasis on "the affirmation of the self" for here the creative act is that of choosing to be a person and of reaching out towards that greater possibility of being in the direction of which lies the achievement of character. The unity and identity of the self is realized by the maintenance of a "dialectic tension . . . by a continuous act of commitment."

Particularly illuminating also in this connection is Mounier's discussion of the role of "creative tension"—and its resolution in "affirmation"—in man's intellectual and spiritual efforts.

In addition to the exposition of his main theme Mounier treats the reader to some lucid and compelling insights into the nature of intelligence, the religious expression and character and the inseparable relationship between morality and spirituality. (Incidentally, along the way, parents will find some very helpful suggestions regarding the implications of the findings of the psychological disciplines for their task.)

Properly speaking it is "existentialist" in its comprehensive treatment of the physical, psychological, social and spiritual dimensions of human existence—viewed dynamically—and its emphasis on the role of constantly renewed self-acceptance and creative commitment.

—Richard A. Chartier

A VISIT TO EUROPE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 26.)

twenty-five hours of conversation with Krushchev; sunrise high above the ocean; devastation and rubble all over Berlin after twelve years; a visit to a youth center in West Germany where friendly contacts are established between Protestants, Catholics, Jews, Communists and non-Communists; an interview with Metropolitan Nikolai in Moscow, a July day on magnificent Mount Pilatus high above Lake Lucerne when alternately it rained and snowed and the sun shined; the longest meal I have ever consumed, as around the tables we listened for four hours to an array of Communist speakers in East Berlin.

Throughout the summer we were brought close to the awful problem of refugees and displaced persons, and were reminded that in this age of crisis 150 million people have been killed in war areas, and 150 millions have been uprooted and driven from their homes. In a refugee camp it was pointed out that men and boys are housed separately from women and girls, and our attention was called to "the bridal suite" where for two nights a newly married couple may stay together. A honeymoon in a refugee camp is one aspect of the appalling tragedy of uprooted peoples.

The Churches In Russia

In Russia we were impressed by the contrast revealed in museums of the displayed glory of the deposed Czars and nobles, and the historical exhibit of the suffering of Russian revolutionaries. Another contrast was that between modern skyscrapers, apartment houses, agricultural and industrial exhibits, beautiful subway stations, splendid museums, wonderful art galleries —and, on the other hand, the poverty of the masses and the limited supply and inferior quality of consumer goods.

We attended crowded services of worship in Baptist churches in Moscow and Leningrad, and were inspired by magnificent congregational singing. At the conclusion of the service in Leningrad the entire congregation greeted us with a handkerchief salute, and pressed forward to shake hands and some kissed us on the cheek. Their eager faces revealed a hunger for friendship with Christians of others lands—after two world wars, revolution, famine, and many years of totalitarian dictatorship.

During the summer I have gained deeper insight into the significance of human fellowship, and have returned home with renewed faith in the power of the Christian gospel.

MEMO

TO: FELLOWSHIP READERS
FROM: BILL MILLER

No Sale—Few of us ever get the chance to sell out our principles for big money. Recently Don Murray, who chalked up big boxoffice scores in *Bus Stop* and *Bachelor Party*, had such an opportunity. Twentieth Century Fox wanted him to play a violent killer in *The Hell Bent Kid*. Murray said his spiritual beliefs would not permit him to take the part, and the studio suspended him.

Here is a young man whose convictions are a match for his acting talents and his rugged good looks. Something meaningful for the bobbysox set to swoon over. How'd it all happen? Send us a dime and we'll send you a copy of "A Man Who Refused to Kill" by Kirtley Baskette, reprinted from the April 1957 *Redbook*. It tells how Don Murray became a pacifist, a CO and —incidentally a Broadway and Hollywood star.

Sale—Christmas is behind us now, and a good thing, too. Fellowship Cards topped all previous sales records in 1957, and kept our mail room humming at a high pitch. Sales of Allan Hunter's new book CHRISTIANS IN THE ARENA didn't give us any extra leisure time, either, what with over 500 copies ordered before the book came off the press.

By the time you read this, we hope we have had time for a few hours siesta, because The Montgomery Story comic book and the Rutenber and Hassler books will soon have us burning the midnight oil again.

But who's complaining? Work—we love it! You can help pile it on by turning to the back cover advertisements in this issue and sending in your orders. We need the revenues so that we can do more of the same.

Well, until we meet again—Peace be with you.

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS
Nyack, New York

LETTERS

is **Fellowship's** policy to print all letters f general interest to its readers, within easonable limits of space, whether they gree with **Fellowship's** viewpoint or not. ou can help to keep this column a free orum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

FOR National Council Nominations

Editors:

FOR ballot has often almost prompted resignation from the FOR. I wonder if are hundreds who share our attitudes. nominating committee which cannot lo- at least two candidates for every vacancy lazy that the time has come for the or- zation to cease functioning. I am ac- nted with one candidate whom I wish very to vote against, so I am reluctantly vot- for 13 of your 14 candidates so that the t won't be thrown out, and my wife joins Most people who resign from the FOR do ecause of displeasure with FOR manage- , notwithstanding their devotion to paci- and desire to aid evangelism for the con- tious objector position.

(UNSIGNED)

minations to the FOR National Council membership-at-large are made at the na- l conference (s), and may also be made ny five members in good standing, a fact was carefully noted on the first news page e September issue of FELLOWSHIP. Nomina- were made at two conferences last sum- and two additional nominations were in by the five-member procedure. After al nominees had indicated inability to during the coming year, the remaining inees totalled only fourteen. Since the Na- l Council rules make no other provision aming candidates, the staff had no alter- e but to send out the ballot in this form. lembers should recall that besides the bers-at-large, the Council also includes two esentatives from each regional committee, two from each denominational fellowship.

—Alfred Hassler]

Second Thoughts on the Rosenbergs

Editors:

the January 1957 issue of FELLOWSHIP was a review I wrote of *The Judgment ulius and Ethel Rosenberg* by John Wex- In that review I indicated that Wexley's ges were so serious that, if untrue, there ld be some refutation by the people or ps he so strongly indicted.

oday, in doing some research on another er, I ran across a supplement to the July 56 *New Leader* which states briefly a point ew contrary to Wexley's. The article is by an Glazer, who made a special study of vidence in the Rosenberg case.

the twenty pages of his article he cannot does not attempt comprehensively to refute Wexley's thesis. His approach is to indicate that the jury felt the Rosenbergs were not telling the truth. He cites a number of items from the court record which cast doubt on the credibility of the Rosenbergs.

It is difficult for anyone not reading the court record itself to be sure whether the Wexley book is as unreliable as Glazer says it is. On the other hand, the record of Soviet esponiage and Communist loyalty to the Soviet Union is such that Wexley's book may be "a prime weapon in this campaign" of Communist propaganda, as the *New Leader* supplement asserts.

If, as Glazer says, Wexley is guilty of "suppressing some evidence, doctoring the rest, and where necessary inventing some," it is important for readers of FELLOWSHIP to know of this charge and where they may find the full statement of Glazer's case.

JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.
Boulder, Colorado

Racism and America's Reputation

Dear Editors:

Nothing has hurt America's reputation recently as much as the stories of violence in the South. The Japanese, being one of the colored nations, are keenly concerned about the way in which Negroes are being treated in the U.S. All of the propaganda of the Russians against us has not hurt our country nearly as much as the actions of some of our own countrymen. We are against this violence practiced against our Negro citizens because it is morally wrong. We also hate to see the name of our beloved country smeared by the racists. I am thankful for the good work of the FOR in its work in this internal conflict.

(REV.) THOMAS W. GRUBBS
Japan

The Handwriting on the Wall

Dear Editors:

Recently I took part in the Civil Defense Alert at the FCDA headquarters at Harvard, Massachusetts. I worked from 11 P.M. to 8 A.M. and to help speed the hours along I brought a copy of the July issue of FELLOWSHIP with me.

As I was driving home I recalled that I had left FELLOWSHIP on the desk I was using. I felt bad since I hadn't time to read the entire is-

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

If you are planning to move, please try to notify FELLOWSHIP *at least two months in advance. Indicate both old and new address on a postcard and send to:* Change of Address, FELLOWSHIP, *Box 271, Nyack, N. Y. (If you are unable to do this, your copy of* FELLOWSHIP *will be unavoidably delayed, due to the mechanical requirements of our addressing department.)*

sue, but the thought occurred to me that perhaps I had left it where it would do the most good. Who knows? Only time will tell.

Evidently I am the type of pacifist who must find out about things, like CD, firsthand. Before this I was indifferent. I wonder how many others are, as I was, indifferent, yes, even ignorant, about these things. We fail to see the "signs of the times," even when "the handwriting is on the wall."

ROBERT M. NORTON III
Rockland, Massachusetts

The "Deep South" Issue

Dear Editors:

Your September issue was an especially creative venture. Reporting on the segregation issue has typically exploited the sensational elements, giving a far larger weight to the conspirators than they actually possess.

We are easily overwhelmed by the conspicuous antics of the obvious and often neglect to heed the quiet forces working offstage. Allowing some reputable Southerners to speak to us about the "other" South, you gave us a rare glimpse of the hopeful, redemptive influences playing upon the sore centers of tension and fear.

Your magazine is a credit to responsible journalism as well as to the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Every success to you and your staff the months ahead.

(REV.) GILBERT H. V
San Francisco, Califo

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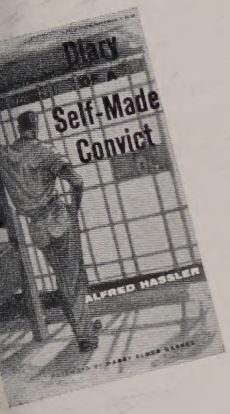
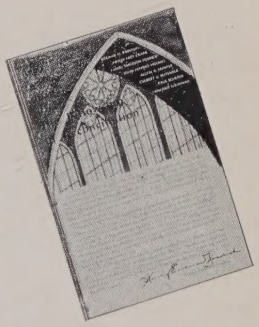
ELLOWSHIP PAPERBACKS FOR 1958

received more than five hundred orders for Allan A. ıter's brand-new book, CHRISTIANS IN THE ARENA, before ven came off the press. Even now it is still too early to) the harvest of expected critical acclaim, but it is not too y for you to join the happy throng of enthusiastic readers. o are the Christians? Eight contemporary men and women. Arena? France, England, Germany, Holland. These are -length true stories of the power of nonviolence in a world war and totalitarianism. Buy an extra copy for your min- r and one for your local library. 108 pages, only $1.50.



A few months ago, our stock of the clothbound edition of Alfred Hassler's DIARY OF A SELF-MADE CONVICT was exhausted. In order to cope with continuing requests for this book, which received praise from critics throughout the country as well as in England, we have reissued it, this time in a handsome stiff paper binding. In it, FELLOWSHIP Editor Hassler tells about his day-to-day experiences from the time he was imprisoned for refusing to register for the World War II draft, to the time he was released. This book is the first in a projected series of Fellowship Paperback reprints. 182 pages, $1.50.



s one is not a book—it's a four-page membership promo- ı folder titled WHY WE BELONG TO THE FELLOWSHIP OF CONCILIATION. You are probably aware of the fact that, ong the FOR's twelve thousand members, there are a con- erable number of distinguished Christian ministers. Among ır friends are people who perhaps have a high regard for h men, but just don't want to take pacifism seriously. It urred to us that it might help you persuade your friends of importance of pacifism if you had this kind of icebreaker— timonials by Harry Emerson Fosdick, John Haynes Holmes, an A. Hunter, Paul Scherer, Henry Hitt Crane, Roland H. nton, Howard Thurman and Culbert G. Rutenber, all of om are members of the Fellowship. Send a three-cent stamp for a sample copy—or ou've already decided to take a batch to church with you, send a dollar for 35 copies.

e three items described above are only a small part of Fellowship Publications' out- t. With the invaluable aid of famed cartoonist Al Capp, for example, we are pro- cing a sixteen-page comic book about the Montgomery bus boycott (see back cover vertisement). Now in its second printing, our handy pocket guide, HOW TO PRACTICE ONVIOLENCE, is in constant demand. Scheduled for publication early this year is a perback edition of another vital book—Culbert G. Rutenber's THE DAGGER AND THE oss, with a new foreword by Prof. John C. Bennett. Other items are in various stages planning and production. For a free copy of our latest catalog, write to:

OWSHIP PUBLICATIONS FOR Box 271, Nyack, New York

What you see at left is the cover of a m unusual comic book. Writers produced dr after draft before the final drawings w made. Now, at last, the plates are being re ied and soon the big four-color presses w start rolling to the tune of a quarter of million copies.

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AND SO BEGAN THE WALK TO FREEDOM. DURING THE DAY WE WALKED... HELD PRAYER MEETINGS.
ARE WE GOING TO RIDE THOSE BUSES?
NO!
ARE WE GOING TO WALK WITH THE FEET GOD GAVE US?
YES!
YES! WE RIDE IN
WE WALKED AND WALKED AND WALKED... AND SOMETIMES THUMBED A RIDE, LIKE ANY HITCH-HIKER.
ROOM FOR EVERYBODY! STEP RIGHT IN—THERE'S NO CHARGE!
THAT'S JUST GREAT! OTHERWISE I HAVE TO WALK FOUR MILES TO WORK.
TAXI
THINGS WERE GOING ALM... WAS BOUND TO BE TROUB...
YOU FAILED TO SIGNAL FOR A TURN.
THE POLICE OFFICERS KEPT BOTHERING US. THEY EVEN STOPPED MARTIN LUTHER KING'S CAR.
WHAT'S THE CHARGE, OFFICER?
30 MILES IN A 25 MILE ZONE. WHY DON'T YOU PEOPLE GET WISE TO YOURSELVES AND GIVE UP THIS BOYCOTT?
WE WEREN'T GOING TO... DECIDED TO BUY STATI... CONTRIBUTIONS SENT I... NEGRO SYMPATHIZERS... THE COUNTR...